Saducismus Triumphatus:

OR,

Full and Plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

WITCHES

AND

APPARITIONS.

PART II.

PROVING

Partly by Holy Scripture, partly by a choice Collection of Modern Relations,

The Real Existence

OF

APPARITIONS, SPIRITS, and WITCHES.

By *JOS. GLANVIL*, late Chaplain to His Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

LONDON,

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THE PREFACE.

I Know it is matter of very little Credit to be a Relator of Stories, and I of all Men living, have the least reason to be fond of the Imployment. For I never had any faculty in telling of a Story, and have always had a particular indisposition and backwardness to the writing any such. But of all Relations of Fact, there are none like to give a Man such trouble and disreputation, as those that relate to Witchcraft and Apparitions, which so great a party of Men (in this age especially) do so railly and laugh at, and without more ado, are resolved to explode and despise, as meer Winter Tales and old Wives Fables. Such they will call and account them, be their Truth and Evidence what it will. For, they have unalterably fixt and determined the point, that Witches and Apparitions are things ridiculous, incredible, foppish, impossible; and therefore all Relations that assert them are Lies, Cheats and Delusions, and those that afford any credit to them, are credulous Gulls and silly easie Believers.

Which things, if they should not be so, it would spoil many a jest, and those who thought themselves great Wits, must have the discomfort of finding they are mistaken. They must fall back into common and

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vulgar Belief, and lose the pretence to extraordinary Sagacity, on which they valued themselves so much, and be brought to be afraid of another World, and be subjected to the common terrours which they despised before, as the juggles and contrivances of Priests *and* Politicians, *and so must see themselves under a necessity of altering their lives, or of being undone. These are very hard and grievous things, and therefore the Stories of* Witches *and* Apparitions *must be exploded and run down, or all is lost.*

This is the case with multitudes of brisk confident Men in our days, so that to meddle on this Subject, is to affront them greatly, to provoke their rage and contempt, and to raise the Devil of their Wit and Buffoonry. All which considered, it must be confest to be a very bold and adventurous thing to undertake the Province in which I have engaged. And besides the provocation which it must needs give to the Huffers *and* Witlings, *there is another sort whose good Opinion I greatly value: some sober and ingenious Spirits, who upon other grounds doubt of the Existence of* Witches, *who may be apt to judge me guilty of Credulity, for the pains I take in this matter. This also hath been some trouble and discouragement.*

And upon the whole, I am assured before-hand, that no Evidence *of* Fact *possible is sufficient to remove the obstinate prejudices of divers resolved Men, and therefore I know I must fall under their heavy censures; of which I have considered the worst, and am I hope pretty well prepared to bear the severest of them. But no Man would expose himself to all this for nothing, nor have I. There were reasons*

for

for this engagement, and they were briefly these that follow.

Having been at Mr. Mompesson's *House in the time of the disturbance, seen, and heard somewhat my self, and received an account from* Mr. Mompesson, *and other credible persons of the whole trouble; I was perswaded to publish, and to annex the full account of it to the second or third Edition of my* Considerations concerning Witchcraft, *to which the Story had near Relation. This I did, and they passed two or three Editions together, without much further trouble to me. But of late, I have heard from all parts, and am amazed at it, that so strongly attested Relation is run down in most places as a Delusion and Imposture, and that* Mr. Mompesson *and my self, have confessed all to be a cheat and contrivance.*

Concerning this, I have been asked a thousand times, till I have been weary of answering, and the Questionists *would scarce believe I was in earnest when I denied it. I have received Letters about it from known Friends and Strangers out of many parts of the Three Kingdoms, so that I have been haunted almost as bad as* Mr. Mompesson's *House. Most of them have declared that it was most confidently reported, and believed in all the respective parts, that the business was a Cheat, that* Mr. Mompesson *had confessed so much, and I the same: so that I was quite tired with denying and answering Letters about it. And to free my self from the trouble, I at last resolved to re-print the Story by it self with my Confutation of the Invention that concerned me, and a Letter I received from* Mr. Mompesson (*now printed in this Book*) *which cleared the matter as to him.*

This

This accordingly I committed to my Booksellers hands some years since to be printed. But it being not done, I was continually importuned by new Solicitations and Questions, and at length out comes Mr. Webster*'s confident Book, in which he saith*, That my Story of the *Drummer*, and the other of *Witchcraft*, are as odd and silly, as any can be told or read, and as fictitious, incredible, ludicrous and ridiculous as any can be, *p.* 11. *And again, p.* 278. Must not all Persons that are of sound understanding, judge and believe that all those strange tricks related by Mr. *Glanvil* of his *Drummer* and Mr. *Mompesson*'s House, which he calls the *Dæmon* of *Tedworth*, were abominable Cheats and Impostures, as I am informed by Persons of good Quality, they were discovered to be?

But neither did this Confidence, nor his Book (I confess) much move me; for I was very loth to be troubled any more in this matter. But at last divers Eminent Men, and Learned Friends of mine having taken notice of it, and being troubled to see so considerable an evidence against Saducism, *as Mr.* Mompesson*'s Story is, so impudently run down by purposely contrived lies, they urg'd me very much to re-print the Relation, with my* Considerations about Witchcraft; *and so give some check to the Insultation and Confidence of Mr.* Webster.

To this I stood long dis-inclined, but being prest by the consideration that such a Re-enforcement might be a very considerable and seasonable service to Religion, *against the stupid* Saducism *and* Infidelity *of the Age, I was perswaded: And having signified my being*

now

now inclined to the design, I received great encouragement from some of the greatest Spirits of our Age and Nation, who earnestly animated me to it. Having resolved, I bethought me of making a small Collection *of the most credible and best attested Stories of this kind that were near and modern, to accompany the Second I had* **Printed**, *and to confirm and prove the main Subject.*

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THis is the whole of the *Preface*, that was found amongst Mr. *Glanvil*'s Papers, saving five or six words, which being superfluous to the sense of this last Clause, and beginning something else not perfected, I thought better left out. But as for Mr. *Mompesson*'s Letter to Mr. *Glanvil*, which is mentioned in this *Preface*, and designed to be Printed in this intended Edition, it is out of the Original Copy as follows.

Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Letter to Mr. *Glanvil*, Dated *Nov.* 8. *Anno* 1672.

Worthy Sir,

M*Eeting with Dr.* Pierce *accidentally at Sir* Robert Button'*s, he acquainted me of ſomething that paſſed between my Lord of* R---- *and your ſelf about my troubles,* &c. *To which (having but little leiſure) I do give you this account, that I have been very often of late asked the Queſtion, Whether I have not confeſſed to His Majeſty or any other, a Cheat diſcovered about that affair. To which I gave, and ſhall to my Dying-day give the ſame Anſwer, That I muſt bely my ſelf, and perjure my ſelf alſo to acknowledge a Cheat in a thing where I am ſure there was nor could be any, as I, the Miniſter of the Place, and two other Honeſt Gentlemen depoſed at the Aſſizes, upon my Impleading the* Drummer. *If the World will not believe it, it ſhall be indifferent to me, praying God to keep me from the ſame, or the like affliction. And although I am ſure this moſt damnable lye does paſs for current amongſt one ſort of people in the World, invented only, I think, to ſuppreſs the Belief of the Being either of God or Devil; yet I queſtion not but the Thing obtains credit enough amongſt thoſe, whom I principally deſire ſhould retain a more charitable Opinion of me, than to be any way a deviſer of it, only to be talk't of in the World, to my own diſadvantage and reproach; of which ſort I reckon you one, and reſt in haſte,* SIR,

Nov. 8. 1672.

Your obliged Servant,

Jo. Mompeſſon.

Adver-

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Concerning the Atteſtation of Mr. *Mompeſſon* and others upon Oath at the Aſſizes, the ſame is mentioned alſo, and their Names expreſſed in a Letter to Mr. *James Collins*, which Letter from the Original Copy is as follows.

Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Letter to Mr. *Collins*, Dated *Aug.* 8. Anno 1674.

SIR,

I Received yours, and had given you an earlier anſwer, had I not been prevented by ſome Journeys. I now give you this; That as to any additional part of the Story, I ſhall not trouble you with at preſent; not knowing what is either already publiſhed or omitted, in regard I have not any of Mr. Glanvil'*s Books by me. I never had but one, which was the laſt year borrowed of me for the uſe of the Lord* Hollis, *and is not yet returned. But as to the buſineſs of the Aſſizes (which is likely to work moſt on the Incredulous, becauſe the Evidence was given on Oath) I ſhall here enlarge it to you.*

When the Drummer *was eſcaped from his Exile, which he was Sentenced to at* Glouceſter *for a Felony, I took him up, and procured his Commitment to* Saliſbury *Gaol, where I indicted him as a Felon, for this ſuppoſed Witchcraft about my Houſe. When the Fellow ſaw me in earneſt, he ſent to me from the Priſon,*

that he was sorry for my affliction, and if I would procure him leave to come to my House in the nature of an Harvest-man, he did not question but he should do me good as to that affair. To which I sent answer, I knew he could do me no good in any honest way, and therefore rejected it. The Assizes came on, where I indicted him on the Statute Primo Jacobi, *cap.* 12. *where you may find, that to feed, imploy, or reward any evil spirit is Felony. And the Indictment against him was, that he did* quendam malum Spiritum negotiare, *the Grand Jury found the Bill upon the Evidence, but the Petty Jury acquitted him, but not without some difficulty.*

The Evidence upon Oath were my self, one Mr. William Maton, *one Mr.* Walter Dowse, *all yet living, and I think of as good Repute, as any this Country has in it, and one Mr.* Jo. Cragg, *then Minister of the Place, but since dead. We all deposed several things that we conceived impossible to be done by any natural Agents, as the motion of Chairs, Stools and Bed-staves, no body being near them, the Beating of Drumms in the Air over the House in clear Nights, and nothing visible; the shaking of the Floor and strongest parts of the House in still and calm nights, with several other things of the like nature: And that by other Evidence it was applied to him.*

For some going out of these parts to Gloucester, *whilst he was there in Prison, and visiting him, he ask't them what News in* Wilts. *To which they replyed, they knew none. No, says the* Drummer, *did you not hear of a Gentlemans House that was troubled with the Beating of Drums? They told him again, if*

that

that were News, they heard enough of that. Ay, ſays the Drummer, *it was becauſe he took my Drum from me; if he had not taken away my Drum, that trouble had never befallen him, and he ſhall never have his quiet again, till I have my Drum, or ſatisfaction from him.*

This was depoſed by one Thomas Avis *Servant to one Mr.* Thomas Sadler *of* North-Wilts, *and theſe words had like to have coſt the* Drummer *his Life. For elſe, although the things were never ſo true, it could not have been rightly applyed to him more than to another. I ſhould only add, that the before-mentioned Witneſſes were Neighbours, and depoſed, that they heard and ſaw theſe things almoſt every day or night for many Months together. As to the Sculpture you intend, you beſt underſtand the advantage, I think it needleſs. And thoſe Words [you ſhall have Drumming enough] is more than I heard him ſpeak: I reſt*

Tedworth
Aug, 8. 1674.

Your Loving Friend,

Jo. Mompeſſon.

AN

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE Proof of the Exiſtence of *Apparitions, Spirits,* and *Witches.*

SECT. I.

The great uſefulneſs and ſeaſonableneſs of the preſent Argument, touching Witches, *and* Apparitions, *in ſubſerviency to Religion.*

THE Queſtion, whether there are *Witches* or not, is not matter of vain Speculation, or of indifferent Moment; but an Inquiry of very great and weighty Importance. For, on the reſolution of it, depends the Authority and juſt Execution of ſome of our *Laws*; and which is more, our *Religion* in its main Doctrines is nearly concerned. There is no one, that is not very much a ſtranger to the World but knows how *Atheiſm* and *Infidelity* have advanced in our days, and how openly they now dare to ſhew themſelves in Aſſerting and Diſputing their vile Cauſe. Particularly the *diſtinction* of the *Soul* from the *Body*, the Being of *Spirits*, and a *Future Life* are Aſſertions extreamly deſpiſed and oppoſed by the Men of this ſort, and if we loſe thoſe Articles, all Religion comes to nothing. They are clearly and fully aſſerted in the Sacred Oracles,

Oracles, but thoſe Wits have laid aſide theſe Divine Writings. They are proved by the beſt Philoſophy and higheſt Reaſon; but the Unbelievers, divers of them are too ſhallow to be capable of ſuch proofs, and the more ſubtle are ready to Scepticize away thoſe grounds.

But there is one Head of Arguments that troubles them much, and that is, the Topick of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. If ſuch there are, it is a ſenſible proof of Spirits and another Life, an Argument of more direct force than any Speculations, or Abſtract reaſonings, and ſuch an one as meets with all the ſorts of *Infidels*. On which account they labour with all their might to perſwade themſelves and others, that *Witches* and *Apparitions* are but Melancholick *Dreams*, or crafty *Impoſtures*; and here it is generally, that they begin with the young-men, whoſe underſtandings they deſign to Debauch.

They expoſe and deride all Relations of *Spirits* and *Witchcraft*, and furniſh them with ſome little Arguments, or rather Colours againſt their *Exiſtence*. And youth is very ready to entertain ſuch Opinions as will help them to phanſie, they are wiſer than the generality of Men. And when they have once ſwallowed this Opinion, and are *ſure* there are no *Witches* nor *Apparitions*, they are prepared for the denial of *Spirits*, a *Life to come*, and all the other Principles of *Religion*. So that I think it will be a conſiderable and very ſeaſonable ſervice to it, fully to debate and ſettle this matter, which I ſhall endeavour in the following ſheets, and I hope ſo, as not to impoſe upon my ſelf or others, by empty Rhetorications, fabulous Relations, or Sophiſtical Reaſonings, but treat on the Queſtion with that freedom and plainneſs, that becomes one that is neither fond, fanciful nor credulous.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The true ſtating of the Queſtion by defining what a Witch *and* Witchcraft *is.*

I Know that a great part of the Labour in moſt Controverſies, uſeth to be beſtowed on things impertinent to the main buſineſs, and by them the Minds of both ſides are ſo confounded, that they wander widely from the point in difference, and at laſt loſe it quite. It would quickly be thus in the Queſtion of *Witchcraft*, and uſually is ſo, without previous care to avoid it. But I ſhall take the beſt I can, that my pains on this Subject be not ſo miſ-beſtowed, but cloſely applyed to the purpoſe: And in order thereunto ſhall briefly define the terms of the Queſtion, and then ſet down what I *grant* to mine Adverſaries, and what I *demand* from them. And when theſe *Preliminaries* are well adjuſted, we ſhall proceed with more diſtinctneſs, and ſtill ſee whereabout we are, and know how far what is affirmed or proved, reaches the main matter in debate.

The Queſtion is, whether there are *Witches* or not. Mr. *Webſter* accuſeth the Writers on the Subject of defect, in not laying down a perfect Deſcription of a *Witch* or *Witchcraft*, or explaining what they mean, *p.* 20. What his perfect Deſcription is, I do not know; but I think I have deſcribed a *Witch* or *Witchcraft* in my *Conſiderations*, ſufficiently to be underſtood, and the Conception which I, and, I think, moſt Men have is, That *a Witch is one, who can do or ſeems to do ſtrange things, beyond the known Power of Art and ordinary Nature, by vertue of a Confederacy with Evil Spirits.*] *Strange Things*, not *Miracles*; theſe are the extraordinary Effects of *Divine* Power, known and diſtinguiſhed by their circumſtances, as I ſhall ſhew in due place. The *ſtrange things* are *really* performed, and are not all *Impoſtures* and *Deluſions*. The Witch *occaſions*, but is not the *Principal* Efficient,

Efficient, ſhe ſeems to do it, but the *Spirit* performs the wonder, ſometimes immediately, as in *Tranſportations* and *Poſſeſſions*, ſometimes by applying other Natural Cauſes, as in raiſing *Storms*, and inflicting *Diſeaſes*, ſometimes uſing the *Witch* as an *Inſtrument*, and either by the Eyes or Touch, conveying Malign Influences: And theſe things are done by vertue of a *Covenant*, or *Compact* betwixt the *Witch* and an *Evil Spirit*. A *Spirit*, *viz.* an *Intelligent Creature* of the Inviſible World, whether one of the Evil Angels called *Devils*, or an Inferiour *Dæmon* or *Spirit*, or a wicked *Soul* departed; but one that is able and ready for miſchief, and whether altogether Incorporeal or not, appertains not to this Queſtion.

SECT. III.

That neither the Notation of the Name that ſignifies indifferently, nor the falſe Additions of others to the Notion of a Witch *can any way diſſettle the Authors definition.*

THis I take to be a plain *Deſcription* of what we mean by a *Witch* and *Witchcraft*: What Mr. *Webſter* and other Advocates for *Witches*, talk concerning the words whereby theſe are expreſt, that they are improper and Metaphorical, ſignifying this, and ſignifying that, is altogether idle and impertinent. The word *Witch* ſignifies originally a Wiſe Man, or rather a Wiſe Woman. The ſame doth *Saga* in the Latine, and plainly ſo doth *Wizzard* in Engliſh ſignifie a Wiſe Man, and they are vulgarly called cunning Men or Women. An Art, Knowledge, Cunning they have that is extraordinary; but it is far from true Wiſdom, and the word is degenerated into an ill ſenſe, as *Magia* is.

So then they are called, and we need look no further, it

it is enough, that by the *Word*, we mean the *Thing* and *Person* I have described, which is the common meaning; and Mr. *Webster* and the rest prevaricate when they make it signifie an ordinary *Cheat*, a *Couzener*, a *Poysoner*, *Seducer*, and I know not what. Words signifie as they are used, and in common use, *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, do indeed imply these, but they imply more, *viz.* Deluding, Cheating and Hurting by the Power of an *Evil Spirit* in *Covenant* with a wicked Man or Woman: This is our Notion of a *Witch*.

Mr. *Webster* I know will not have it to be a perfect Description. He adds to the Notion of the *Witch* he opposeth, *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil*, and *real Transformation* into an *Hare*, *Cat*, *Dog*, *Wolf*; the same doth Mr. *Wagstaffe*. Which is, as if a Man should define an Angel to be a Creature in the shape of a Boy with Wings, and then prove there is no such Being. Of all Men, I would not have Mr. *Webster* to make my Definitions for me; we our selves are to have the leave to tell what it is that we affirm and defend. And I have described the *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, that sober Men believe and assert. Thus briefly for Defining.

SECT. IV.

What things the Author concedes in this Controversie about Witches *and* Witchcraft.

I Shall let the Patrons of *Witches* know what I allow and grant to them;

First, I grant, That there are some Witty and Ingenious Men of the opposite Belief to me in the Question. Yea, it is accounted a piece of Wit to laugh at the Belief of *Witches* as silly Credulity. And some Men value themselves upon it, and pride them in their supposed Sagacity of seeing the Cheat that imposeth on so great a part of Believing Mankind. And the Stories of *Witches*

and

and *Apparitions* afford a great deal of Subject for Wit, which it is pity that a witty Man ſhould loſe.

Secondly, I own that ſome of thoſe who deny *Witches* have no deſign againſt, nor a diſinclination to Religion, but believe Spirits, and a Life to come, as other ſober Chriſtians do, and ſo are neither *Atheiſts*, *Sadducees*, nor *Hobbiſts*.

Thirdly, I allow that the great Body of Mankind is very credulous, and in this matter ſo, that they do believe vain impoſſible things in relation to it. That *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil*, and *real Tranſmutation* of Men and Women into other Creatures are ſuch. That people are apt to impute the *extraordinaries* of Art, or Nature to *Witchcraft*, and that their *Credulity* is often abuſed by ſubtle and deſigning *Knaves* through theſe. That there are Ten thouſand ſilly lying Stories of *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions* among the vulgar. That infinite ſuch have been occaſioned by Cheats and *Popiſh* Superſtitions, and many invented and contrived by the Knavery of *Popiſh* Prieſts.

Fourthly, I grant that Melancholy and Imagination have very great force, and can beget ſtrange perſwaſions. And that many Stories of *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions* have been but Melancholy fancies.

Fifthly, I know and yield, that there are many ſtrange natural Diſeaſes that have odd Symptomes, and produce wonderful and aſtoniſhing effects beyond the uſual courſe of Nature, and that ſuch are ſometimes falſly aſcribed to *Witchcraft*.

Sixthly, I own the *Popiſh* Inquiſitours, and other Witch-finders have done much wrong, that they have deſtroyed innocent perſons for *Witches*, and that Watching and Torture have extorted extraordinary Confeſſions from ſome that were not guilty.

Seventhly and Laſtly, I grant that the Tranſactions of *Spirits* with *Witches*, which we affirm to be true and certain, are many of them very ſtrange and uncouth, and that we can ſcarce give any account of the Reaſons of

of them, or well reconcile many of those passages to the commonly received Notion of *Spirits*, and the State of the next World.

If these Concessions will do mine Adversaries in this Question any good, they have them freely. And by them I have already almost spoiled all Mr. *Webster*'s and Mr. *Wagstaffe*'s, and the other Witch-Advocates Books, which prove little else, than what I have here granted. And having been so free in Concessions, I may expect that something should be granted me from the other party.

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Those that are mentioned in the second Concession though they are not Atheists, Sadducees *nor* Hobbists; *yet if they deny* Witches, *it is plain they are* Antiscripturists, *the Scripture so plainly attesting the contrary.*

SECT. V.

The Postulata *which the Author demands of his Adversaries as his just right.*

THE demands that I make are; First, That whether *Witches* are or are not, is a question of Fact: For it is in effect, whether any Men or Women have been, or are in Covenant with *Evil Spirits*, and whether they by the *Spirits* help, or he on their account performs such or such things.

Secondly, That matter of Fact can only be proved by immediate Sense, or the Testimony of others, *Divine* or *Humane*. To endeavour to demonstrate Fact by abstract reasoning and speculation, is, as if a Man should prove that *Julius Cæsar* founded the Empire of *Rome*, by

Algebra or *Metaphysicks*. So that what Mr. *Webster* saith, *p*. 43. That the true and proper mediums to prove the actions of *Witches* by, are *Scripture* and sound *Reason*, and not the improper way of *Testimony* (which we use in the opposition that *Testimony* stands to *Scripture* and sound *Reason)* is very Non-sense.

Thirdly, That the History of the *Scripture* is not all *Allegory*, but generally hath a plain literal and obvious meaning.

Fourthly, That some *Humane Testimonies* are credible and certain, *viz*. They may be so circumstantiated as to leave no reason of doubt. For our Senses sometimes report truth, and all Mankind are not Lyars, Cheats, and Knaves, at least they are not Lyars, when they have no Interest to be so.

Fifthly, That which is sufficiently and undeniably proved, ought not to be denied, because we know not how it can be, that is, because there are difficulties in the conceiving of it. Otherwise *Sense* and *Knowledge* is gone as well as *Faith*. For the *Modus* of most things is unknown, and the most obvious in Nature have inextricable difficulties in the Speculation of them, as I have shewn in my *Scepsis Scientifica*.

Sixthly and lastly, we are much in the dark, as to the *Nature* and *Kinds* of *Spirits*, and the *particular* condition of the other World. The Angels, Devils, and Souls happiness and misery we know, but what kinds are under these generals, and what actions, circumstances and ways of Life under those States we little understand. These are my *Postulata* or demands, which I suppose will be thought reasonable, and such as need no more proof.

Proof

Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, *and* Witches, *from* Holy-Scripture.

SECT. I.

The Authors purpose of proving Apparitions *and* Witchcraft, *to such as believe* Scripture, *as first from the* Apparition *of* Angels.

AND having thus prepared my way, I come to prove, that there are *Witches* against both the sorts that deny their Existence, *viz.* Those that believe the *Scriptures*, and the Wits or Witlings that will *not* admit their Testimony. To the first I shall prove the being of *Witches* by plain Evidence taken from the Divine Oracles, and to the other, and indeed to both, I shall evince the same by as full and clear Testimonies, as matter of fact is capable of, and then answer the opposite Objections, and those particularly of the three late confident Exploders of Witchcraft; * Mr. *Webster*, Mr. *Wagstaffe*, and the *Author* of the *Doctrine of Devils.*

The Proof I intend shall be of these two things, *viz.* That *Spirits* have sensibly transacted with Men, and that some have been in such Leagues with them, as to be enabled thereby to do wonders.

These sensible Transactions of Spirits with Men, are evident from *Apparitions* and *Possessions*. The Apparition of *Angels*, their Discourses and Predictions, sensible converses with Men and Women, are frequently recorded in the Scripture. An *Angel* appeared to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. Three Angels in the shape of Men appeared to

 Abraham,

Abraham, *Gen.* 18. Two to *Lot* in the ſame likeneſs, *Gen.* 19. An Angel called to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 21. 17. and ſo did one to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 22. An Angel ſpake to and converſed with *Jacob* in a Dream, *Gen.* 31. One of the ſame appeared to *Moſes* in the Buſh, *Exod.* 3. An Angel went before the Camp of *Iſrael*, *Exod.* 14. An Angel met *Balaam* in the way, *Numb.* 22. An Angel ſpake to all the People of *Iſrael*, *Judges* 2. An Angel appeared to *Gideon*, *Judges* 6. and to the Wife of *Manoah*, *Judg.* 13. An Angel deſtroyed the People, 2 *Sam.* 24. An Angel appeared to *Eliah*, 1 *Kings* 19. An Angel ſmote in the Camp of the *Aſſyrians* 184000. 2 *Kings* 35. An Angel ſtood by the Threſhing-Floor of *Ornan*, 1 *Chron.* 21. 15. An Angel talked with *Zachariah* the Prophet, *Zach.* 1.

An Angel appeared to the two *Maries* at our Lord's Sepulchre, *Matth.* 28. An Angel foretold the Birth of *John Baptiſt* to *Zachariah* the Prieſt, *Luk.* 1. *Gabriel* was ſent to the Holy Virgin, *Luk.* 1. 26. An Angel appeared to the Shepherds, *Luk.* 2. An Angel opened the Priſon Door to *Peter* and the reſt, *Acts* 5. I might accumulate many more inſtances, but theſe are enough. And many circumſtances of ſenſible Converſe belong to moſt of them, which may be read at large in the reſpective Chapters. And ſince the Intercourſes of Angels were ſo frequent in former days, why ſhould we be averſe to the belief that Spirits ſometimes tranſact with Men now?

Advertiſement.

* *I Find amongſt Mr.* Glanvil's *Papers, the firſt Lineaments or Strokes of an Anſwer to Mr.* Wagſtaffe, *and to the* Author *of the* Doctrine of Devils, *but more fully to Mr.* Webſter, *at leaſt Seventeen Sheets, where he anſwers ſolidly and ſubſtantially where I can read his Hand; but*

but it reaches but to the Sixth Chapter. And in truth he has laid about him ſo well in theſe Sheets that are publiſhed, that thoſe may well ſeem the leſs neceſſary.

SECT. II.

The Evaſions his Adverſaries uſe to eſcape the force of theſe Proofs of Scripture from the Apparition of Angels, with the Author's Anſwer.

THere are ſeveral Evaſions, by which ſome endeavour to eſcape theſe Texts; as, Firſt the *Sadducees* of old, and *Familiſts* of later days, who hold, to wit, theſe, that the *Angels* we read of, were but *Divine Graces*, the other that they were *Divine Phantaſms* created to ſerve a preſent occaſion, which ceaſed to be as ſoon as they diſappeared One would think that none that ever had read the Scriptures, ſhould entertain ſuch a conceit as this, that is ſo contrary to the account they every where give of thoſe cœleſtial Creatures. But there is nothing ſo abſurd, but ſome Men will embrace to ſupport their Opinions.

Let us conſider a little how differently from this vain Fancy the Scripture deſcribes them. They are called *Spirits*, an Attribute given to *God* himſelf the prime *Subſiſtence*, who is by way of eminence called the *Father of Spirits*, not of *Phantaſms*. And *Spirit* imports as much *Subſtance* as *Body*, though without groſs bulk. We read of *Elect* Angels, and the Angels that *ſtand before the Throne of God* continually, and that always behold the Face of God. Of the *Fallen* Angels that kept not their firſt Station, that are held in the Chains of Darkneſs; and of *everlaſting Fire* prepared for the *Devil* and *his Angels* againſt the Judgment of the great Day. Both had their Order of Superiority and Inferiority, *Michael* and his Angels, the *Dragon* and his Angels. We are made little lower than the Angels. In Heaven we ſhall

be as the Angels of God. Of the Day of Judgment knoweth no Man, no not the *Angels.* Let all the Angels of God worſhip him.

Which Deſcriptions of the *Nature*, *Order*, *Condition*, *Attributes* of *Angels*, and infinite more ſuch up and down the Scriptures, are not applicable to *Phantaſms*, but demonſtratively prove, that the *Angels* of whoſe *Apparitions* we hear ſo frequently there, were real permanent *ſubſiſtences*, and not mere *Phantaſms* and *Shadows.*

SECT. III.

That the Angels that are ſaid to have appeared in Scripture were not Men-Meſſengers, *but* Inhabitants *of the* Inviſible World; *And whether they ate and drank or no.*

BUT were not thoſe Angels that ſo appeared, ſpecial *Prophets*, *Divine Meſſengers*, ſometimes in Scripture confeſſedly called Angels? They did eat and drink with *Abraham* and with *Lot*, by which it ſhould ſeem that they were real Men. But whoever ſhall look over the Inſtances alledged of the *Apparition* of *Angels*, and read them in all the Circumſtances of the Text, will plainly ſee that they could not be *Men.*

Such could not be the *Angel* that ſpake to *Abraham* and *Hagar* out of Heaven, that converſed with *Jacob* in a Dream, that appeared to *Moſes* in the Burning Buſh, that appeared to *Manoah*, and aſcended, in his and his Wife's preſence, in the flame of the Sacrifice, that went before the Camp of *Iſrael*, that ſtood before *Balaam* in the way unſeen by him, that ſmote the Army of the *Aſſyrians*, that appeared to *Zacharias* in the Temple, and to the *Maries* at the Sepulchre. Theſe muſt be a ſort of *Beings* ſuperiour to Mankind, *Angels* in the proper ſenſe, who are ſometimes in Scripture called *Men*, becauſe they appear in our likeneſs.

But

But whether these do receive refection or sustenance in their own World and State or not, I will not dispute. It is most probable, and it hath been the Doctrine both of Fathers and Philosophers, that they are vitally united to *Æthereal* and *Heavenly* Bodies, which possibly may need recruits some such way, and so *Angels Food* may be more than a *Metaphor*. But certainly they cannot eat after our manner, nor feed on our gross Dyet, except in appearance only. They may make shew of doing it (as the Angel *Raphael* told *Tobit* that he did, *Tob.* 12. 19. *All these days I did appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a Vision*) but really they do it not. So that when *Abraham*'s and *Lot*'s Angels are said to eat and drink with them, the Scripture speaks as to them it seemed. And so the *Jerusalem Targum* reads, *and they seemed as if they did eat and drink.* And we may suppose that Men's Conceptions of Angels were not very refined in those days, nor could they have born their sensible and free Converses, if they had look't on them as Creatures of a Nature so distant from their own.

And therefore afterward, when they were better understood, those to whom they appeared were struck with great dread and amazement, and thought that they should presently die. Nor do we, as I remember, read any more of the Angels eating or drinking after what seemed to *Abraham* and *Lot*. Indeed *Manoah* invited the Angel to eat, *Judg.* 13. 15. but it was before he knew he was an Angel, and it is set down in excuse of the offer, *v.* 16. *For* Manoah *knew not that he was an Angel of the Lord*, implying that the invitation had been absurd if he had known it.

I have said this in answer to the objection, though the main cause is not concerned. For though I should grant that *Abraham*'s and *Lot*'s Angels were Men, yet the other instances in which that could not be said or supposed, are more than enough to carry my point. That *real* Angels, *Inhabitants* of the *Invisible World*, did sometimes sensibly appear.

SECT. IV.

That Angels are still Ministring Spirits as well as of old.

BUT it will be said, when they did appear, it was upon *Divine Errands*, and God sent them to serve the ends of his Government and Providence; which I grant. And God Almighty hath the same ends to serve still, he governs the World now, and his Providence is as watchful as ever, and the Angels are the chief Ministers of that Providence, and Ministring Spirits for our good. The Gospel was ushered in by the *Apparition* of *Angels*, and many things done by them in the carrying of it on. And why we should think they may not be sent, and should not appear on occasion now, I do not see. But this is more than I need say yet, being for the first step only to shew, that Spirits *have* transacted with Men.

SECT. V.

Proofs from the Apparitions *of* Evil Spirits, *recorded in Scripture.*

THose I have mentioned hitherto, have been good and *benign Spirits*, but *evil Spirits* have also appeared, and sensibly had to do with Mankind. My first instance of this is one of the first businesses that was in the World, the Temptation of *Eve* by the *Devil* in the Serpent. An Argument which those that adhere to the Letter of those three first Chapters cannot avoid. Evil Angels were sent among the *Ægyptians*, *Psalm* 78. 49. and those passed through and smote the Land. But the Destroyers, *viz.* The Evil Angels were not permitted to come into the *Israelites* Houses, *Exod.* 12. 23. When God asked Sathan whence he came, *Job* 1.7. he answered,

from

from going to and fro in the Earth. By Divine permission he raised the great Wind that blew down the House upon *Job*'s Children, *v.* 19. and smote his Body all over with Boyls, *Job* 2.7. He tempted our Saviour in an external sensible way, carrying him from place to place, and urging the Son of God to worship him, *Matth.* 4. But more of this will appear by considering the second head proposed, *viz.* *Possession* of Evil Spirits.

SECT. VI.

Proofs from Possession *of Evil Spirits, and that they were not Diseases, as the Witch-Advocates would have them.*

THat such *Possessions* have been, we find frequently and plainly delivered in the History of the Gospel, and so often, that I shall not need to recite particulars. The Evasion that the Witch-Advocates have for this, is, that the *Devils* and *unclean Spirits* spoken of in those places, which our Saviour is said to have cast out, were strange and uncommon *Diseases*, which the *Jews* thought to be *Devils*, and Christ who came not to teach Men Philosophy, complyed with their deceived apprehension, and the Evangelists speak according to their conceit in this matter. But if this Answer must pass, then in the first place,

Farewel all Scripture, it may be made to say what we please; and if when the Scripture speaks in a plain History of *unclean Spirits* and *Devils*, we may understand *Diseases* by it, then what we read of *good Angels* may be *Graces* and *Vertues*, and what we read of *Christ himself*, may all be interpreted of the *Christ within*, and so all the Scripture, and all Religion shall signifie what any Man thinks fit.

Secondly, The cure of Diseases is mentioned in many of the Texts, distinctly from the casting out of the Devils.

vils. Thus *Matth.* 10. 1. *He gave the Disciples power against unclean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sicknesses, and all manner of Diseases.* This was a different Power from the former, and *all manner* of sicknesses and diseases implies the uncommon and extraordinary, which our *Sadducees* would have the Devils to be, *viz.* Diseases, as well as the ordinary and usual ones are. So *Luke* 6. 18. *He healed them of their Diseases, and those that were vexed with unclean Spirits, were brought to him, and he healed them likewise.* And most plainly, *Matth.* 4. 24. *And they brought unto him all sick people, that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments, and those that were possessed with Devils, and those that were Lunatick, and those that had the Palsie, and he healed them.* The Mad-men, and those that had the Falling-Sickness, the Distempers which the Witch-Advocates make Devils of, are here mentioned apart, and as distinct from those Devils our Saviour cast out.

Thirdly, Many things are attributed to those *Devils* that were cast out, which are not applicable to *Diseases.* The *Devils* in the *Possessed* among the *Gergasens*, *Matth.* 18. 16. besought Christ, saying, *If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the Herd of Swine, and he gave them leave,* Mark 5. 8. Sure the *Diseases* did not *beseech* him ; But perhaps the *men* did. Had *they* a mind to go into the *Swine ?* and did they enter into them ? A sort of *possession* this, that was never heard of, a *Beast possest* with a *Man.* But St. *Luke* tells us, they were the *Devils* that went out of the *Men,* and entered into the *Swine, Luke* 8. 33. The Men did not go out of themselves, and therefore, if what went out was not the *Disease,* it was really the *Devil* or unclean Spirit.

So *Luke* 4. 33. In the Synagogue there was a Man that had a Spirit of an unclean Devil, and cryed out with a loud Voice, saying, *Let us alone,* &c. Well, but might not this be the *man himself* that cryed out so ? Therefore read a little on, *v.* 35. *And Jesus rebuked him,* viz. *him* that *spake,* saying to the *same* still, *Hold thy peace*

and

and come out of him. Which must be another Person distinct from the Man himself, and who was that? It follows, *And when the* Devil *had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him,* the *same Devil* that *spake*; *that* our Saviour *rebuked*, and *commanded* to come out, which could be no other than a real Evil Spirit.

And that those *ejected Devils* were not *Diseases* appears farther, *Matth.* 12. *v.* 22. *There was brought unto him, one possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch* (to wit, the consequence of the ejecting the Devil was) *that the blind and dumb both spake and saw.* The *Pharisees*, v. 24. impute this casting out Devils to a Confederacy with *Beelzebub* the Prince of the Devils; our Saviour there argues, that then Sathan should be divided against himself: namely, *Beelzebub* the chief against the *inferiour Devils* that he cast out; who are of his Kingdom, and doing the work of it: For there it follows, *that his Kingdom could not stand, v.* 26. These things will be hardly applyed to *Diseases.* And,

Fourthly and lastly, If the Evangelist should call *Diseases Devils*, and *unclean Spirits*, and speak of casting out *Devils* in an History with all the plainness and expresness of Words, and Phrase, and Circumstance, that such an action could be described by, and yet mean nothing of it, what would this suggest, but that they falsly ascribed to Christ wonders that he never did, and consequently that they were Lyars and Deceivers, and vain Impostors? For clear it is, that whoever shall read those passages in the Gospel without a preposseſt Opinion, will be led into this belief by them, that our Saviour did really cast Devils out of Persons posseſt. And if there be really no such thing as *Possession* by *Evil Spirits*, but only Diseases by the ignorant and credulous people taken for such, then the History imposeth on us, and leads Men into a perswasion of things done by the Power of Christ that never were. And what execution this will do upon the truth, and credit of the whole History, is very easie to understand.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

That the Witch-Advocates cannot elude Scripture-Testimony of Possession *by* Evil Spirits, *by saying it speaks according to the received Opinions of Men.*

I But the Scripture doth, we know, speak often according to the received Opinion of Men, though they are errors, which it is not concerned to rectifie, when they concern no *Morality* or *Religion*.

But first, The Doctrine of *Spirits* and *Devils* was not the received Opinion of all the *Jews*: The *Sadducees* a considerable Sect were of another mind. So that the Stories of ejecting such, must look to them as Impostures. And the Scriptures were not written only for the *Jews*, and for that particular time alone, but for all Places and all Ages. Most of which have no such use of calling *Diseases Devils*, and among them the History must either convey a false Opinion, or lose the Reputation of its Truth.

Secondly, Though the Scripture doth not vary from the common forms of Speech, where they are grounded upon harmless and lesser mistakes, yet when such are great and dangerous, prejudicial to the glory of God, and Interest of Religion, it is then much concerned to reform and rectify such errours. And according to the Belief of the *Witch-Advocates*, the Doctrine of *Possessions* is highly such. For it leads to the Opinion of *Witchcraft*, which they make such a Dismal and Tragical Error, Blasphemy, an abominably Idolatrous, yea an Atheistical Doctrine, the grand Apostasie, the greatest that ever was or can be, that which cuts off Christs Head, and Un-Gods him, renounceth Christ and God, and owns the Devil, and makes him equal to them, *&c.* As the *Author* of the *Grand Apostasie* raves.

And Mr. *Webster* saith little less of this Opinion in his Preface, *viz.* That it tends to advance Superstition and Popery,

Popery, is derogatory to the Wisdom, Justice and Providence of the Almighty, tending to cry up the Power of the Kingdom of Darkness, to question the verity of the principal *Articles* of the Christian Faith, concerning the Resurrection of Christ, and generally tends to the obstructing of Godliness and Piety.

And Mr. *Wagstaffe* loads it with as dreadful imputations in his Preface; As that it doth necessarily infer plurality of Gods by attributing *Omnipotent* effects to more than one, and that it supposeth many *Omnipotents*, and many *Omniscients*. If any thing of this be so, certainly our Saviour's inspired Historians would not have connived at much less would they have spoken in the Phrase, that supposeth and encourageth a common Error, that leads to such an horrid Opinion.

SECT. VIII.

An Answer to an Objection from Christs not mentioning his casting out Devils to John's *Disciples, amongst other Miracles.*

BUT saith the *Author* of the *Grand Apostasie*, p. 34. our Saviour himself in his Answer to the Disciples of *John* the *Baptist*, *Luke* 7. doth not pretend to the casting out *Devils*, but only the cure of *Diseases*, and raising the *Dead*. To which I say, First, We may not argue negatively from Scripture in such matters, and certainly we ought not to argue from silence in one place, against plain affirmations in many.

Secondly, Our Saviour answers in reference to the things he was then doing, when the Disciples of *John* came to him, v. 21. *And in that same hour he cured many of their Infirmities and Plagues.* Evil Spirits, it must be confessed, are also mentioned. Some of those Diseases it is like were occasioned by Evil Spirits, as *Matth.* 12. 22.) the blindness and dumbness of the *possessed person* there

there was. And then the *ejection* of the *Evil Spirit* is implyed, when the *Disease* is said to be *Cured.*

Thirdly, The business of *John*'s Disciples was to enquire whether he was the *Messiah,* and it was fit our Saviour in his Answer should give such proofs of his being so, as were plain and palpable. *Go your way,* saith he, *and tell* John *what things ye have seen and heard,* Luke 7. 22. They had heard him Preach the Gospel it is like, and had seen him cure Diseases. These things were plain and sensible, and could admit of no dispute or doubt. But whether the Distempers Christ then healed, were inflicted by Evil Spirits, and whether those were cast out in the Cure, did not plainly appear at that time. Our Saviour therefore did not bid them mention that Instance to their Master *John,* because they could not testifie it on their own knowledge, as they could the things themselves saw and heard.

SECT. IX.

An Answer to two more Objections; the one, that St. John *mentions no casting out Devils in his Gospel; the other, that to have a Devil, and to be mad are* Synonyma's.

BUT the passionate Witch-Advocate goes on. St. *John* the Evangelist, who especially sets himself upon the proof of the Godhead of Christ, hints nothing of his ejecting Devils. Which one would think should be no proof, since the other three do; and St. *John* chiefly supplyed what they omitted. And since this Evangelist so particularly sets himself upon the proof of Christs Divinity, he mentions no Miracles, which were the proof, but such as were sensible and indisputable. And our Author himself after *p.* 41. saith, That the cure of *Diseases* was more for Christ's Honour, and the proof his Godhead, than the *casting out Devils* could have been. For possibly, saith he, in that, there might have

have been ſome probable grounds of the *Phariſees* Blaſphemy, that he caſt out Devils by *Beelzebub*.

So that he *anſwers* and *contradicts* himſelf at once: For *p.* 34. he ſaith, It hath been a great overſight in St. *John* to neglect ſuch an Argument. If ſuch a thing had ever been, this would have proved him to have been God indeed, and his Power paramount above all Principalities and Powers, *&c. p.* 35. And yet now curing *Diſeaſes* proves it better, and the caſting out Devils will ſcarce do it at all, ſince it might, adds he, be in ſome ſort credible, that he did it by favour, connivance, compliance, complotment, which is upon the Borders of the higheſt Blaſphemy.

Again it is alledged by this Writer, that to *have a Devil*, and to be *mad*, ſeem to be *Synonyma*'s in Scripture, *p.* 35. I anſwer, *Poſſeſſion* begot a certain *μανία furor*, and *madneſs*; and therefore when any were extravagant, the *Jews* ſaid in common ſpeech, that *they had a Devil*, as we do, *The Devil is in you*, that is, you act unreaſonably and madly. But as we do not mean by this *Metaphorical Poſſeſſion* to exclude the belief of a *real*, ſo neither did they. Yea, the very Phraſe, *he hath a Devil*, or the Devil is in him, applyed to thoſe that act furiouſly and unadviſedly, doth imply, that there is ſuch a *real* thing as *diabolical Poſſeſſion*, to which madneſs and extream folly are reſembled.

See then how the Patrons of Witches argue, The *Jews* ſometimes uſed the *having a Devil* Metaphorically; therefore there are no other *Poſſeſſions*, or therefore all thoſe paſſages of Scripture, in which they are literally and plainly related, intend no other. Indeed if we argued from meer *words* and *expreſſions* of having Devils, and caſting out Devils, there would be ſomewhat of more colour in our Adverſaries reaſoning. But ſince we infer chiefly from plain circumſtances of Hiſtory and Fact, there is no force at all in it.

SECT. X.

The Ignorance of the Author of The Grand Apoſtaſie, *in his interpreting the Word* Δαιμόνιον.

BUT what doth this Writer mean, when he tells us Δαιμόνιον can ſcarce ſignifie any thing elſe properly, but an unuſual affliction from God, ſuch as *madneſs*; when all Men and Boys know that Subſtantively it is the ſame with Δαίμων *Dæmon*, taken already in Scripture in an ill ſenſe for an impure Spirit. Adjectively it ſignifies ſometimes *Divinum quid*, but ſo it is not underſtood in the places we diſpute about, *Luk.* 4. 35. *When the Devil had thrown him*, the poſſeſſed Man, *in the midſt*, *he came out of him*, the word is, τὸ Δαιμόνιον. The ſame *v.* 33. is called πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου. By which and the latter circumſtances of the Hiſtory, it plainly appears, that τὸ δαιμόνιον, is to be underſtood *Subſtantively* for a *Perſon*, viz. an *Evil Spirit*. So in the Story of the Devils entring into the Herd of Swine, *Luke* 8. 33. the word we Tranſlate *Devils* is τὰ δαιμόνια, called *v.* 29. πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, and the ſame *Matth.* 8. 29. Δαίμονες. Beſides the force of which words, I have ſhewn, that the Story alſo determines them to a *Subſtantive* and *Perſonal* meaning.

But the Author ſaith, That Δαιμόνιον can hardly, with propriety, ſignifie any thing elſe but an *extraordinary affliction from God*, becauſe of its derivation from δαίμων, *p.* 37. One would wonder at the confidence of theſe Men, eſpecially in their pretended Criticiſms, by which they would impoſe what ſenſe upon words they pleaſe. Δαίμων it is notoriouſly known ſignifies *Dæmon*, taken often in the ill ſenſe, and ſo particularly in the place newly mentioned, deriving from δαίω *ſcio*, which degenerates here, as in *Saga*, *Witch*, *Wizzard* and the like, and what then ſhould this Author by this mean?

SECT.

SECT. XI.

Whether there were no feats performed by the Demoniacks *in the Gospels, but what* Mad-men *might perform.*

IT is further Objected by this Writer, that there are no Feats Recorded of those supposed *Demoniacks*, but what *Mad-men* could perform and often do. In which, he considered not the Spirits in the *Possest*, in the Country of the *Gergasens*, *Matth.* 8. 29. St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* write *Gadarens*, the Countries lye near together. *Josephus* reckons *Gadara* among the *Grecian* Cities which *Pompey* took from the *Jews*, and according to him the people were mostly *Syrians*.

In this Country where our Saviour had not been before, nor after, that we read, two possest with Devils, who had lived among the Tombs, out of the Conversation of Mankind, met him, and presently cried out; *What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come to torment us before the time?* Was there nothing now beyond the rate of ordinary Mad-men in this? How did they, who lived in such a dismal solitude among the Tombs, in a place where no Man passed, come to know this was Jesus, who never had been thereabout before, as far as we can hear? Or how came those Madmen to know, and utter such a great truth, which our Saviour did not presently publish, *That he was the Son of God?* Did any come near to whisper this in their Ear? Or was this a raving fancy only? St. *Mark* writes (who speaks but of a single *Demoniack*) that *when he saw Jesus afar off, he came and worshipped him.* He knew him presently, and understood his true condition before most of the *Jews* about him; and even some of his own Disciples did. Could a meer Madman have done so? But further they expected torment, and from him, in the time to come, though they looked not for it so soon. Art thou come to torment us before the time?

How applicable is this to the condition of evil Spirits and their expectations?

We have a like acknowledgment of our Saviour from another unclean Spirit, *Mark* 1. 24. *I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.* And our Saviour in what he saith, in answer plainly, implies it was the Evil Spirit, not the Mad-man that spake, or at least caused the confession. *Hold thy peace and come out of him,* v. 25. And that the *Demoniacks* did things beyond the force of meer Mad-men, is further sufficiently declared in the History, *Mark* 5. *No man could bind him, no not with Chains; because he had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and the Chains had been pluckt in sunder by him.* I would fain know, whether this be not beyond the force of meer natural madness?

Advertisement.

Hitherto the Paper was the same, and the Hand the same, and so far of the Copy transcribed. Afterward the Hand alters, and is Mr. Glanvil's *own Hand, but with an* Hiatus *of above half a Sheet of unwrit Paper between, but the Number of the Pages is continued. Something there was to intervene, to make a more full Connexion; but yet what follows, is of the same suit, and produced to prove out of Scripture the Negotiation of* Evil Spirits *with their* Clients.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Further proof of the Negotiation of Evil Spirits with their Clients from the History of the Magicians *of* Egypt; *Mr.* Wagstaffe, *Mr.* Webster, *and the Author of* The Doctrine of Devils, *their Evasions proposed and answered.*

IN the general, they all say the same thing; *viz.* That the *Magicians* were *Jugglers*, who by their Tricks and Legerdemain, imposed upon *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians.* Mr. *Wagstaffe* is so modest, as not to describe the manner of the performance. But Mr. *Webster* thus; *The* Magicians *holding a Rod in their hands, and seeming to throw it down upon the ground, how soon might they throw down an Artificial Serpent in its stead, and immediately and unperceivably make conveyance of the Rod,* *p.* 154. This is his feat: and for the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, he saith, they were so easie to be done after the same manner, that they need not any particular explication, *p.* 155. This is the main answer, after a great deal of Impertinence, and Mr. *Webster* hath done his business.

But the Author of *The Doctrine of Devils*, hath devised a more particular way for this Juggle. *'Tis probable*, he saith, *that these Men having the Art or Knack of Making, Graving, or Carving the Pictures of Men, Beasts, Serpents, Reptiles,* &c. *had the Feat also of Colouring, Painting, and Fucussing of them also, and so might easily, especially in the dark, or by their Juggling-Feats, as the Text intimates, make a Rod look like a Serpent,* &c. p. 114. But besides these Knavish Painters, the Man hath found other Jugglers to help on the Deceit; *Subtle and politick Oratours, who with fallacious Arguments, cunning pretences, and plausible Rhetorick could so disguise Truth, and flourish upon Knavery and Falshood, that Falshood should seem Truth, and Truth Falshood,* p. 115.

Whatever the *Magicians* of *Pharaoh* were, any one that considers these Answers, would take the Framers of them for Colourers, Changers, Perverters of the Face of things, as this Author speaks, cunning Orators, Jugglers, *Hocus-Pocus*, *Hiccius-Doccius*, whip! the Serpents, Blood and Frogs are gone. But let us look a little nearer to the business, and to these subtle Men, Witches of Orators, and examine what they tell us in the light of the *Text* and impartial *Reason*.

The Text saith, Aaron *cast down his Rod before* Pharaoh, *and before his Servants, and it became a Serpent*, *v.* 10. And v. 11, 12. *The Magicians of* Ægypt, *they also did in like manner with their Enchantments. For they cast down every man his Rod, and they became Serpents, but* Aaron's *Rod swallowed up their Rods.* Now, say the Witch-Advocates, the *Magicians* were *Jugglers*, they did not in like manner, they did not cast down their Rods, but made conveyance of them, they were not *Serpents* but *Pictures*. Which are plain contradictions to the Text, arbitrary Figments, that have no ground. And if Men may feign what they will, and put what borrowed sense they please upon plain Relations of Fact, all History will be a Nose of Wax, and be easily shaped as the Interpreter has a mind to have it.

Secondly, If this were so, and the Serpents were but Artificial Pictures; 'tis strange, that neither *Pharaoh*, nor his Servants should perceive the difference between the *Carved* or *Painted* Serpents, and the *real* ones; except they suppose also that *Pharaoh* contrived the business in a dark Room on purpose, as the Author of *The Doctrine of Devils* seems to intimate. And 'tis stranger yet, that neither *Moses* nor *Aaron* that were concerned to detect the Imposture that was so gross and thick, should not discern it; or if they did, 'tis as strange, that they should keep the Jugglers counsel, and say nothing of it.

Thirdly, *Aaron*'s Serpents are said to have swallowed up those of the Magicians. What, did they swallow the

Wiers

Wiers and Pictures? It seems they were very artificially done indeed, that the true Serpents mistook them for real ones, as the Birds once did the Painted Grapes. But it would be more wonderful yet, if all were but the *Oratory* of the *Magicians*, for then the Serpents ate their Words and Rhetorick.

Fourthly, Moses *and* Aaron *turned the Rivers into Blood*, v. 20. *and the* Magicians *of* Ægypt *did so with their Enchantments*, v. 22. *They caused Frogs to come up, and to cover the Land*, Ch. 8. v. 6. *and the* Magicians *did so, and brought up Frogs on the Land of* Ægypt, v. 7. Now, how did the Jugglers do this, with Painting and Fucussing? or how, by Legerdemain and Slight of Hand were the Waters made Blood, and the Frogs brought up out of the Rivers on the Land? To turn a little Water into the appearance of Blood, was not the thing that was like to what *Moses* and *Aaron* did, and to shew an Artificial Frog, Two or Three was not bringing up of Frogs on the Land of *Ægypt*, which implies, multitudes that covered the ground. So that the *Hocus-Pocus* Tricks, and Juggling and Painting, will not colour this part of the Story. And I should wonder at Mr. *Webster*, if he did not afford so many occasions of wondring at him, when he passed this so slightly over, saying, *p.* 155. *As to the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, they were so easie to be done after the same manner,* viz. by Wiers and Juggling, *that they need not any particular explication, for by this the manner of their performance may most easily be understood.* How shall one deal with these Men, and what will not their confidence affirm?

Fifthly, 'Tis very strange also how those *Jugglers* should know what signs *Moses* and *Aaron* would shew, and accordingly furnished themselves with counterfeit Serpents, Blood and Frogs against the time; or had they those always in their Pockets? If not, it was great luck for them that *Moses* and *Aaron* should shew those very Miracles first, that they were provided to imitate.

Sixthly and Laſtly, If the *Magicians* did all this by Tricks and Juggling, may not one fear what Opinion theſe Men have of the ſame things done by *Moſes* and *Aaron?* Theſe indeed out-did the others in divers following Inſtances, but may not they ſay, that that was by their having more Cunning and Dexterity in the Art of Juggling? If they or their Proſelytes have a mind to ſay thus, they may by their Principles, which will ſerve them to elude the Hiſtory, in reference to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, as well as it doth in relation to the *Magicians*. They may with as much modeſty turn all into Allegory and Metaphor.

I think by all this it appears, that this ſhift of the Witch-Advocates is very vain, and that what the *Magicians* did, was not mere *Juggling*, much leſs only *Politick Oratory* and *Rhetorick*. As if thoſe *Magicians* by their Eloquence could perſwade *Pharaoh* and his Servants againſt their Senſes, as theſe Patrons of Witches endeavour to do by us, they being the greateſt Witches in their own ſenſe that are extant, and ſome of them are belyed, if they are not ſo in other ſenſes.

SECT. XIII.

That what the Magicians *of* Ægypt *did perform, was at leaſt by an* Implicit *Confederacy with Evil Spirits.*

WEll! If there be any truth in the Hiſtory, the *Magicians* were not only *Couzeners* and *Hocus-Pocus* Men; there was ſomething done that was extraordinary beyond Man's Art and Contrivance, or the effects of ordinary Nature. And therefore muſt have either *God*, or ſome *Spirit* or *Dæmon*, one or more for the Author. The former no one ſaith, the Hand of God in this was only permiſſive. Therefore it is plain the *Magicians* did this by Spirits, Creatures of the *Inviſible World*. The Text ſaith, by their *Enchantments*, *per arcana*,

cana, the vulgar *Latin* reads. Which becauſe it is a general word, Mr. *Wagſtaffe* takes hold of it, and determines it to ſecret and ſly Tricks, thoſe of Legerdemain and Couzenage, when as it is as applicable to any kind of *ſecret* (and ſo to the Diabolical Art and Confederacy) as to his ſenſe. And that it is ſo to be underſtood here, is plain from the matter of the Hiſtory. By thoſe *arcana* (others read *incantationes*, *veneficia*) they did thoſe ſtrange things, *viz.* by ſecret Confederacy with Spirits, they obliged them to perform the wonders.

But what did the Spirits do, were the Serpents Blood and Frogs *real* or *apparent* only? I am not obliged to ſay, who is of one Opinion, and who of another in this, it matters not. The reality of the performance is moſt eaſie, and moſt ſuitable to the ſacred Story, and there is no difficulty in conceiving that Spirits might ſuddenly convey Serpents, with which *Ægypt* abounded, into the place of the Rods, which they might unperceivably ſnatch away after they were thrown down; This they could do, though the *Magicians* of themſelves could not. And they might be provided for the performances by knowing the Command God had given *Moſes* and *Aaron*, concerning the things he would have them do; which the *Magicians* could not know, at leaſt not but by them

And for the Blood and the Frogs, they might by Infuſion, or a Thouſand ways that we cannot tell, make the Water to all appearance Bloody, or perhaps really tranſmute ſome (we know not the extent of their powers.) And to bring up the Frogs from the Lakes and the Rivers, was no hard thing for them to effect, though impoſſible for the *Magicians* to do by Tricks of Juggling. We ſee the ſence of the Hiſtory is plain, and eaſie in our way, but forced, harſh, contradictious, and moſt abſurd in the Interpretation of the *Hag-Advocates*.

To make the Inference from theſe *Magicians* to my point, yet more plain and demonſtrative, I ſhall further

take notice, that if we do not ſuppoſe a Confederacy, and formal compact between them and the Spirits they act by, it muſt at leaſt be granted, that thoſe *Magicians* had a way to oblige them to act, either by *Words* or *Ceremonies*, which they have bound themſelves to attend in order to further familiarity with the perſons that ſo employ them, and at laſt to *explicit* Compacts: And even this is ſufficient for what I would infer.

I have thus diſpatcht a great Argument briefly, and yet I hope fully; Mr. *Webſter* is after his manner very voluminous about it. But all he hath ſaid in Five or Six Leaves in Folio to the purpoſe, is in thoſe few Lines I have recited. All the reſt is ſenſleſs, rambling Impertinence, amuſing his Readers with *Actives*, and *Paſſives*, *Mecaſſaphims*, *Hartummims*, *Taleſmans*, wonderful *Cures*, and the vertues of *Plants*, telling Stories, and citing ſcraps from this Man, and from that, all which ſerve only for Oſtentation, and the Deception of the injudicious, but ſignifie nothing to any purpoſe of Reaſoning.

SECT. XIV.

The other grand Inſtance of Confederacy with Evil Spirits, in the Witch of Endor, *whom* Saul *conſulted.* A brief and plain Narration of the Story.

I Come to another grand Inſtance, *viz.* That of the Witch of *Endor*. The Story of her is related, 1 *Sam.* 28. and is briefly thus. *Samuel* was dead, *v.* 3. and the *Philiſtines* gathered themſelves againſt *Saul*, and pitcht in *Gilboa*, v. 4. *Saul* on this was much afraid, *v.* 5. and enquired of the Lord, but had no anſwer from him, *v.* 6. Upon this he bid his Servants find him out a Woman that had a Familiar Spirit, that he might enquire of her. They told him of one at *Endor*, *v.* 7 He diſguiſed himſelf, and with two Men by night went to her, deſired her

her to divine unto him, by her *Familiar Spirit*, and to bring up him whom he ſhould name, *v.* 8. The Woman firſt excuſed her ſelf, minding him how dangerous ſuch a buſineſs might be to her, ſince *Saul* had cut off thoſe that had *Familiar Spirits*, and the *Wizzards* out of the Land. So that ſhe was afraid that this Propoſition of his was a ſnare for her Life, *v.* 9. But *Saul* aſſured her by ſwearing, that no harm ſhould come to her for this thing, *v.* 10.

She then askt him whom ſhe ſhould bring up, and he ſaid, Bring me up *Samuel*, v. 11. *Samuel* accordingly begins to appear, and when the Woman ſaw him, ſhe cried with a loud Voice, being much ſurprized, it ſeems, to ſee *Samuel* in good earneſt, whom ſhe probably expected not, but ſome Familiar in his likeneſs. By this ſhe knew *Saul*, *v.* 12. He heartens her again, and asks whom ſhe ſaw. She anſwers, ſhe ſaw *Gods* aſcending out of the Earth, an uſual *Hebraiſm*, the Plural for the Singular Number, *Gods*, to wit, a *Spirit*, *v.* 13. *Saul* asks what Form he was of, ſhe anſwered, *an Old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle.* Then *Saul* perceived it was *Samuel*, and he bowed himſelf to him to the ground, *v.* 14.

Samuel ask't why he had diſquieted him to bring him up? He declares the diſtreſs he was in, and his deſire to know what he was to do, *v.* 15. *Samuel* reproves him, and declares his Fate, *viz.* That the Lord had rent the Kingdom from him, and given it to *David*, *v.* 17. That the *Iſraelites* ſhould be delivered into the hands of the *Philiſtines*, and that *Saul* and his Sons ſhould to morrow be with him, *viz.* in the ſtate of the Dead, as eventually it was, *v.* 19. This is the Hiſtory, and one would think it ſpeaks very plainly, but nothing is plain to prejudice. The Patrons of *Witches* labour hard to avoid this evidence, and I ſhall propoſe and conſider their ſhifts and ſlights of anſwering.

SECT.

SECT. XV.

The Evaſion of Mr. Reginald Scot, *concerning the Witches Cloſet propoſed and confuted.*

MR. *Reginald Scot*, the Father of the modern Witch-Advocates, orders the matter thus. When *Saul*, ſaith he, had told her that he would have *Samuel* brought up to him, ſhe departed from his preſence into her Cloſet, where doubtleſs ſhe had her Familiar, to wit ſome lewd crafty Prieſt, and made *Saul* ſtand at the Door like a Fool (as it were with his Finger in a hole) to hear the Couzening Anſwers, but not to ſee the Couzening handling thereof, and the counterfeiting of the matter. And ſo goeth ſhe to work, uſing ordinary words of Conjuration, *&c.* So belike after many ſuch words ſpoken, ſhe ſaith to her ſelf; Lo! now the matter is brought to paſs. I ſee wonderful things. So as *Saul* hearing theſe words longed to know all, and askt her what ſhe ſaw. Whereby you know that *Saul* ſaw nothing, but ſtood without like a Mome, whilſt ſhe plaid her part in her Cloſet, as may moſt evidently appear by the Twenty firſt Verſe of this Chapter, where it is ſaid, Then the Woman came out to *Saul*, &c. *Scot*, p. 108.

Now this is not interpreting a Story, but making one. For we read nothing of her *Cloſet*, or her going from *Saul* into it, nothing of the *crafty Prieſt* ſhe had there, or of *Saul*'s ſtanding at the Door like a Fool, like a drowned Puppy, Mr. *Webſter* has it, (very reſpectful Language for a Prince in diſtreſs!) nothing of the words of *Conjuration*, or of the Womans talk to her ſelf, but all this is Whimſey and Fiction.

And according to this way of interpreting, a Man may make what he will of all the Hiſtories in the Bible, yea in the World. If one may ſupply, and put in what he pleaſeth, any thing may be made any thing.

But

But Mr. *Scot* saith, it *evidently* appears that *Saul* saw nothing, but stayed without like a Mome, whilst she played her part in her Closet. It *evidently* appears by the Twenty first Verse of this Chapter, where 'tis said, *Then the Woman came out unto* Saul. *Is it not evident from hence, that she had a Closet, how else should she come out?* But the mischief of it is, there is nothing of coming out in the Text, or any Version of it. Our Translation is, *And the Woman came unto* Saul. The vulgar Latin, *Ingressa est*, she came *in*, which implies that she went *out of Doors* rather, than into her Closet. The *Septuagint* read εἰσῆλθεν ἡ γυνὴ, being the same sense with the vulgar Latin. The Chaldee Paraphrase simply *she came.* So the Syriack and the Arabick: But we find nothing of coming out any where but in the *Discoverer.* So that here is a Text made too, as well as many a groundless Comment.

But whether she only came to *Saul*, or *in* or *out* to him, it matters not much, for it implies only that she withdrew, while *Saul* communed with *Samuel*, out of respect, and after the Communication, she returned and found the King in great disorder, and what is this to a Closet?

SECT. XVI.

Two of Mr. Webster's *Arguments for the Witches Closet proposed and answered.*

BUT Mr. *Webster* pursues the business in the behalf of the *Discoverer*; First, If they were in the same Room, and *Samuel* a visible Object, how comes it to pass that *Saul* saw him not? Mr *Glanvil*, saith he, *must pump to find it out*, p. 169. But doth not Mr. *Webster* know, that it is usual in *Apparitions* (and he owns there are such) for the Spirit to appear to one, when it is not visible to another, though in the same Room, and every

every ways capable of ſeeing? In the Famous Story of *Walker* and *Sharp*, recited by him, *p.* 299, 300. which he confeſſeth to be of undoubted verity, he ſaith, it was reported, that the Apparition did appear in Court to the Judge, or Fore-man of the Jury (and I have from other hands very credible atteſtation that it was ſo) but the reſt ſaw nothing. Many other well atteſted Relations of this kind ſpeak of the like, and there are Innumerable Stories of people that have their ſecond ſight as they call it, to wit, a faculty of ſeeing Spectres when others cannot diſcern them. In which there is nothing, either impoſſible, or unlikely. And why then ſhould there be need of ſo much *pumping* to anſwer this Objection?

Samuel it ſeems appeared to the Woman a little before *Saul* ſaw him, ſhewing himſelf ſo, it may be, to prepare *Saul* for the terrible ſight by degrees, leſt the ſuddenneſs of it might have affrighted him into an incapacity of hearing what he had to ſay to him. Or it may be the Body of the Woman, or ſome other thing in the Room might interpoſe between *Saul*, and the firſt appearance of *Samuel*, or he might be at an unfit diſtance, or out of due light to ſee preſently as ſhe did. So that there is no need of ſuppoſing them to be in two Rooms on this account.

But Secondly, He argues further for the Cloſet, or another Room; The Woman cried out with a loud Voice when ſhe ſaw *Samuel*; What need of that, ſaith he, if they were in one Room, might not an ordinary tone make him to have heard her? 'Tis like it might, but that was not the cauſe of her crying out, but her ſurpriſe to ſee *Samuel* (if it were the real *Samuel*) when ſhe expected only her *Familiar*, appearing in ſome reſemblance of him. And 'tis like there were circumſtances in this Apparition, which ſhe had never ſeen before, that might on the ſudden affright and amaze her. And if it were *Samuel* indeed, which is very probable, the ſight of him aſſured her that the Inquirer was *Saul*.

For

For though ſhe might not conclude it preſently from his requiring her to raiſe *Samuel*, yet when he really and unexpectedly appeared, it was plain that he was come upon ſome great Errand, and with whom could he probably have ſuch buſineſs as with *Saul?* So that ſhe ſeeing him, the importance of his appearance, and the Relation he had to *Saul*, brought the King preſently to her mind, and with him her fears, and that this was one cauſe of her crying out, is plainly intimated in the next words. *And the Woman ſpake to* Saul, *ſaying, Why haſt thou deceived me, for thou art* Saul, *v.* 12. And that ſhe was affrighted at that knowledge, is implied in *Saul's* aſſuring her again, againſt her fears in his immediate anſwer. *And the King ſaid unto her, Be not afraid, v.* 13.

Beſides this, there is another thing that may be collected from the Text, which might occaſion her aſtoniſhment and crying out. For as ſoon as *Saul* had ſaid, *Bring me up* Samuel, *v.* 11. it immediately follows, v. 12. *And when the Woman ſaw* Samuel, *ſhe cryed with a loud voice.* It ſeems he appeared before ſhe had performed her uſual Conjurations (ſo little ground is there for what Mr. *Scot* talks of her words of Conjuration, and thoſe ſhe ſpake to her ſelf) and upon that ſhe was ſurpriſed and affrighted.

SECT. XVII.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webſter *for a Room diſtinct from that* Saul *was in, propoſed and anſwered.*

MR. *Webſter's* third Argument to prove a Cloſet, is that it had been incongruous for *Saul* to have askt, what ſaweſt thou, if they had been in one Room. But what is the incongruity, or what the wonder, if one in his condition ſhould ſpeak incongruouſly?

His Fourth and Fifth Arguments, are to prove that

Saul

Saul had yet ſeen nothing, when he askt the Woman upon her Out-cry, what ſhe had ſeen. They prove, that ſhe ſaw the *Apparition* firſt, which is granted, but her being in another Room, cannot thence be inferred, as I have ſhewn, though that be the thing he ſhould make out, or all is impertinent.

The Sixth Argument is, that after all, *Samuel* was but coming up. *An Old Man cometh up*, which proves nothing for Mr. *Webſter*, but againſt him; For now, ſhe ſhews him to *Saul*. She ſaw the firſt beginning of his appearing, which *Saul* did not. When he was riſen higher out of the Earth, ſhe ſhews him to the King, who, 'tis ſaid, *perceived* then it was *Samuel*, and bowed himſelf, *v.* 14. which is very eaſie and congruous, applied to one and the ſame Room. And what then makes Mr. *Webſter* inſult in the Concluſion of this Argument in theſe words; *Now let Mr.* Glanvil *conſider, and anſwer whether it be not only intimated, but clearly holden forth in the Text, that either they were in two Rooms, or that nothing viſible did appear before* Saul, *p.* 171. His ſeeing nothing at firſt I grant, but the Two Rooms there is no ground for, and he doth not prove it. Whether he did not ſee *Samuel* after, I ſhall now inquire. Hitherto I have nothing to do, but with the conceit of the Cloſet, or the other Room which Mr. *Scot* made for the Woman, and Mr. *Webſter* endeavours to uphold, with much good will, but little ſucceſs.

SECT. XVIII.

Convincing Arguments brought to prove that Saul *ſaw* Samuel, *which fruſtrates the Figment of two Rooms.*

AFter all, if he really ſaw the Apparition, the Figment of the two Rooms is gone, or at leaſt ſignifies nothing to their purpoſe. This the Text intimates plainly. She ſaid, *An old Man cometh up, and he is covered*

vered with a Mantle, and it *follows*, *And* Saul *perceived that it was* Samuel, *and he ſtooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himſelf*, v. 14.

He *perceived* it was *Samuel*, he perceived it, ſaith Mr. *Webſter*, by the Deſcription of the Woman. But ſhe had only ſaid, *An Old Man cometh up covered with a Mantle*; This is but a very general Deſcription, why muſt that needs notifie *Samuel?* Could the Devil repreſent no other old Man in a Mantle, or could none of the dead appear ſo but *Samuel* only? By theſe words alone *Saul* could not certainly *perceive* that it was he. But he *perceived* this ſo, that he could not but know and acknowledge it as the Hebrew word ſeems to imply. I ſay this word [perceived] implies more than bare ſeeing. 'Tis that and ſomewhat elſe, *viz.* that he ſaw him ſo, as to be convinced that it was he indeed, the judgment was added to the ſenſe. So that Mr. *Webſter*'s Objection, that the word was not he [ſaw] it was *Samuel*, is of no weight, he [perceived] implies that he ſaw it ſo as to be aſſured. If the ſaying of the Woman had been all, the aſſurance had been none at all, and *Saul* could not have *perceived* or underſtood any certainty of the thing from it.

But ſecondly, it appears yet further, that his *perceiving* did imply *ſeeing*; For he ſtooped with his Face to the ground, and bowed himſelf. Now, what did *Saul* make this reſpectful reverence to, if he ſaw nothing? Was it to *Samuel* in his fancy? Mr. *Webſter* ſaith, *Surely in rational conſequence it could be nothing elſe*, p. 171. This is ſomething an unuſual courteſie to bare *Idea*'s and *Imaginations*. But Mr. *Webſter* gives a reaſon: *All that the Woman had done and ſaid, being undeniably lyes and cheats, this alſo in juſt right and reaſon muſt be judged to be ſo alſo.* Which is aſſuming the thing to be proved.

SECT.

SECT. XIX.

That it was a real *Apparition, not a confederate* Knave, *as Mr.* Webster *fansies, that* Saul *saw and did obeysance to.*

BUT did she not turn out her *confederate Knave* to act the part of *Samuel?* and was not this he to whom *Saul* bowed? This Mr. *Webster* offers as part of his answer. The Woman *v.* 14. describes *Samuel* in the form of an Old Man covered with a Mantle. Such a shape she must have put the confederate Knave into. It may be it was an Old Fellow, or she made him look Old, but let that pass. But where got she the Mantle? A *Sacerdotal Habiliment* it was, according to *Josephus.* Had the Woman a Wardrobe of all Habits for all purposes? or was it some short Cloak of her own, that she threw on him? We will suppose either that will serve Mr. *Webster*'s turn best. But how did the Fellow himself, or the Old Quean for him change his Visage into the likeness of *Samuel*, or how alter his Voice so, as to make *Saul*, who so well knew *Samuel*, to believe it was even he? These are hard Questions.

But if we should so far gratifie Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Webster*, and the rest, as not to press with such untoward Queries; yet one cannot chuse but ask how the *confederate Knave* came to foretel truly such contingent things, as that the *Israelites* should be vanquished by the *Philistines*, and *Saul* and his Sons slain on the morrow, as *v.* 19. How could the *Cheat*, or the *Woman* in another Room tell this? Why! saith Mr. *Wagstaffe*, he spake it at a venture, and he or the Witch gave a shrewd guess to the sequel, saith Mr. *Scot*. But what ground was there for conjecture? and since there was none, the Confederate might as well have chose to have told *Saul*, that he and his Sons should live and be Victorious; and this, if he were so cunning a Fellow, as these cunning Men make

make him, he would have done. For the Witches buſineſs and his, was to get by their practice, and the likelier way to a good reward, had been to have propheſied grateful and pleaſant things to the troubled King; and if the Propheſier knew nothing of the event. he might as well have choſen the good, as the evil ſide, Which as it had been for his Intereſt, it had been alſo for the better ſaving of the credit of his Predictions. For if he had foretold the Kings good Succeſs and Victory, the Woman and He, the Confederate, in conſequence had been ſure of reputation and favour, and further rewards, if it happened ſo; but no evil could have befallen them from the contrary ſucceſs For if *Saul* were killed, the falſhood of the Prediction would be buried with him (for we read not that the two Servants were at this Communication, (which in all likelihood was private) and no other evil like to enſue.

So that if it were a *Confederate Knave*, as the Witch-Advocates have contrived that made the anſwers, he was not ſo cunning as Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Webſter*, and the reſt pretend, but indeed a very *ſilly Juggler*. He ſpeaks very ſevere and diſobliging things, and ſuch as were not like to redound to his advantage, and indeed ſuch things they were, as do not at all look as if they proceeded from a Confederate Couzener. They have that Gravity, Majeſty, Religion and Vertue in them that became the true *Samuel*, and are very unlike the words of a vicious cheating Knave.

To which may be added, that this Woman, though otherwiſe an ill one, ſeems to have been of a kind and benign nature, by the courteous entertainment ſhe gave the afflicted Prince, and *Joſephus* extols her much for her good nature. So that it is very probable, that ſhe would by her ſelf, or her Confederate, lay ſuch an heavy load of Trouble and Deſperation upon the King, that was in ſuch diſtreſs before. I think all theſe things put together, are abundantly ſufficient to diſprove, and ſhame the ungrounded fancy of the Witch-Advocates,

that all was done by a Confederate. And consequently it was a *real* Apparition that *Saul* saw, and did civil obeysance to.

SECT. XX.

That it was not the Witch her self that acted all (as *Scot* and *Webster* for another shift would suppose) *putting her self into a Trance, and deluding* Saul *by Ventriloquy.*

BUT was it not the Witch her self that acted all? Mr. *Scot* saith, that if the Exposition of the *Confederate* like us not; he can easily frame himself to the Opinion, That this *Pythoness* being a *Ventriloque*, that is, speaking as it were from the bottom of her Belly, did cast her self into a Trance, and so abused *Saul*, answering to *Saul* in *Samuel*'s name in her counterfeit hollow Voice, *p.* 111. To the same purpose Mr. *Webster* also supposeth, *That what she did or pretended to do, was only by Ventriloquy, or casting her self into a feigned Trance, lay groveling on the Earth with her face downwards, and so changing her Voice, did mutter and murmur, and peep, and chirp like a Bird coming forth of the shell, or that she spake in some hollow Cave or Vault through some Pipe, or in a Bottle, and so amused and deceived poor timorous and despairing* Saul, *p.* 165, 166.

What stuff is this? and how shall one deal with such Men, as set their Wits upon the rack to invent evasions, and are ready to assert any Nonsense or Absurdity to pervert the sense of a plain and simple History? What I have already spoke against the Dream of a *Confederate*, viz. *Saul*'s *perceiving* it was *Samuel*, his *bowing himself* upon it; his taking the Voice for the Prophet's, the suitableness and gravity of the words, and the contrivance of the Prediction, and the truth of it, are as strong against this *Whim*, as against the other *idle fancy*, and

and in ſome particulars of more force, as will appear to any one that conſiders the matter duly.

For *Ventriloquy*, or ſpeaking from the bottom of the Belly, 'tis a thing I think as ſtrange and difficult to be conceived as any thing in Witchcraft, nor can it, I believe, be performed in any diſtinctneſs of articulate ſounds without ſuch aſſiſtance of the Spirits, that ſpoke out of the *Dæmoniacks*. I would fain have any of the Witch-Advocates ſhew how it is naturally poſſible. So that this that they ſuppoſe, will infer the thing they would avoid. It cannot certainly in any reaſon be thought, that the Woman could by a natural knack, ſpeak ſuch a Diſcourſe as is related from *Samuel*, much leſs that ſhe could from her Belly imitate his Voice, ſo as to deceive one that knew him as *Saul* did.

As for Mr. *Webſter*'s *peeping*, *chirping*, and *muttering*, they are nothing to the purpoſe, and his hollow *Cave*, *Pipe* and *Vault*, are as arbitrary Figments as the *Cloſet*, and fall under the ſame confutations that diſprove the reſt of the Chimæra's.

SECT. XXI.

That it was Samuel *himſelf that appeared, not the* Devil, *nor a* Confederate Knave.

BUT the Witch-Advocates have another Argument to prove an Impoſture in this buſineſs. For, ſay they, the perſon denouncing the fate of *Saul* could not be the true *Samuel*, nor the *Devil* in his likeneſs; therefore it muſt be either the *Woman* or ſome cheating *Confederate*. Which concluſion follows not, for it is poſſible it might be a *good* Spirit perſonating *Samuel*. Theſe the Scripture aſſures us, are often employed in Errands and Miniſteries here below, and on thoſe occaſions they cloath themſelves in humane ſhape and appearance. So that it is not abſurd to think it might be thus here;

but this I affirm not. Who actually it was hath been great matter of debate among Interpreters, and considerable Authors have been on either side. My cause doth not require that I should positively determine who the appearing person was, it might be one of them, though I cannot tell which.

I confess it seems to me most probable, that it was the true *Samuel*, for the Scripture calls the Apparition so Five times, that is, as often as he is mentioned. And when the Woman saw *Samuel*, *v.* 12. And *Saul* perceived that it was *Samuel*, *v.* 14. and *Samuel* said to *Saul*, *v.* 15. Then said *Samuel*, *v.* 16. Then *Saul* was sore afraid, because of the words of *Samuel*, v. 20. Which expressions are neither from *Saul*, nor the Woman, but from that Spirit that indited the Holy Scriptures. And if after all this, *Samuel* was a *Knave*, or the *Witch*, or the *Devil*, what assurance can we have in interpreting of Scripture? I know that it speaks sometimes agreeably to the deceived apprehensions of Men; but when it is so, there is something in the Context or Nature of the thing that leads us to make this Judgment. And if we rashly suppose whenever we have a mind to it, that the Scripture speaks according to deceived Opinion; we may by this Rule make it say any thing. The plain Letter, and most obvious sense is always to be followed, where there is no cogent reason to the contrary, and I shall shew by and by, that there is none to decline it here.

According to the obvious plain sense, the words are interpreted, *Ecclesiastic* 46. 20. *And after his death* (speaking of *Samuel*) *he Prophesied and shewed the King his end.* And the circumstances of the Story which I have already considered, seem to me very plainly to determine the sense this way. Thus doth the surprise of the Woman, who cryed out with astonishment upon the sight of the Prophet, whom she was affrighted to see. Her knowing it was *Saul* by the Apparition, which she could not have done by the *Devil*'s appearing in his likeness.

likeneſs. The Expreſſion that *Saul perceived* that it was *Samuel*, he did not only fancy or think ſo. The Divine and Majeſtick words he ſpake, ſo becoming the true *Samuel*, and ſo unlike the words of an Evil Spirit. And the Prediction of events ſo contingent as the loſs of the Battle, and the death of the King and his Sons.

SECT. XXII.

The needleſneſs and impertinency of Mr. Webſter'*s Confutation of* Samuel'*s appearing with his Body out of the Grave.*

NOW there are ſeveral evaſions, whereby ſome endeavour to ſhift off this evidence. But if we will deal plainly and ſincerely, we muſt, I think, acknowledge the force of the Arguments, which I have briefly and nakedly propoſed.

But all this Mr. *Webſter* pretends to confute thus. It was not *Samuel*'s *Body* with his Soul joined, nor his *Soul* that appeared in his wonted ſhape and habit, *p.* 172, 173.

The firſt he proves by theſe reaſons. Firſt, His Body had lain too long in the Grave, ſo that it muſt have been disfigured. Secondly, It muſt have ſtunk. Thirdly, There was no Taylor in the Grave to make him a Mantle. Fourthly, It muſt have been an Omnipotent Power to have done this. Fifthly, A Syllogiſm is brought to prove this contrary to the Scripture, which ſaith, That *thoſe that dye in the Lord reſt from their labours*.

Now the Four firſt Arguments he may take again, we have no concern with them. For 'tis ſenſleſs to think, that the groſs Body came out of the Grave; and if he means the reſting of the *Terreſtrial* Body by the Fifth, he may take that back too. And indeed as applyed to the

the Body without the Soul, the diſturbing of it is Nonſenſe. Its corruption in the Grave is continual motion, and more diſturbance than the raiſing it entirely would be, if it were any at all. But properly it is none, no more than is the taking of a Stone out of a Quarry. Therefore if there be any Argument in this, it falls under the next Query.

The Sixth Argument is a Queſtion, *viz.* Who joined the Soul and Body again? Not the *Witch* nor the *Devil.* The Opinion is erroneous, impious and blaſphemous. And for me let him call it what he pleaſeth. His ſtrength is in hard words, which here like the ſtones thrown ſometimes by Witchcraft light like Wooll, and here Far alſo from the Mark.

SECT. XXIII.

That it was the Soul *of* Samuel *that appeared, without his* Terreſtrial Body, *and that it is an indifferent Opinion, in which are divided as well Papiſts as Proteſtants.*

BUT there is a ſecond opinion yet to be confuted, *viz.* That it was *Samuel*'s in his wonted ſhape and habit, *p.* 173. He muſt mean his *Soul* without the *Body*, or elſe 'tis the ſame again; and if he means without any Body, I am none of thoſe that mean with him. It is moſt fully and plainly proved by thoſe excellent Men, Dr. *C*—— and Dr. *M*——, that Souls departed are embodied in Aerial, or Ætherial Vehicles; and they have largely ſhewn that this was the Doctrine of the greateſt Philoſophers, and moſt Ancient and Learned Fathers. And agreeable it is to the Holy Scripture and higheſt Reaſon and Philoſophy, as I may have another occaſion to ſhew. Now *Samuel* appeared here to *Saul* in this his more pure *Aerial*, or *Ætherial* Body, which he could form into ſuch an appearance and habit as he had in the *Terreſtrial.*

Againſt the Opinion of *Samuel*'s Soul appearing, Mr. *Webſter*

Webster urgeth cogent Arguments, as still he calleth his; they are all *manifest*, *cogent*, *irrefragable*, *unanswerable*, even then when they are scarce sense. He prefaceth to them, by an intimation, that the Doctrine is Popish; maintained, he saith, it is by the Popish Party. His hard words use to be his strongest Arguments. But this is only to raise *odium* and prejudice to the opinion. For there are *Papists* and *Protestants* on both sides of this Question. As also Rabbins and Fathers have divided upon it. Some of the last sort, and those perhaps of the greatest and most considerable having been for it, as R. *Eleazer*, R. *Saadias*, The Writers of the *Midrash*, *Josephus* also, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Basil*, *Ambrose*, &c. as some others have been against it. So that, I suppose, a Man may freely and without offence declare his Judgment, though it happen to be different from Mr. *Webster*'s.

SECT. XXIV.

Three Arguments of Mr. Webster *against the appearing of the* Soul *of* Samuel, *proposed and answered.*

WHerefore to his Arguments, First he could not, saith he, come, whether God would or no. Right! Secondly, He would not run on an Errand without God's consent. No doubt. Thirdly, That God did not command him, he saith, is most certain. Here I must stop. How doth that appear to be so certain? Why! they never were imployed in Ministries here below, because never created for any such end or purpose, *p.* 173. They were never imployed in Ministries here below! What thinks he of the Souls of *Moses* and *Elias*, at the transfiguration on the Mount? were not they then employed in a Ministry here below, or were they only Phantasms? or their glorifyed Bodies without their Souls? and how then did they talk and converse with our Lord? But these he will say were sent on an

extraordinary occaſion. Be it ſo, they are ſometimes then imployed in ſuch, and ſo Mr. *Webſter* muſt eat his words. And if bleſſed Souls are, or have been employed at any time, how is he ſo certain the real *Samuel* was not ſent here?

Thus briefly to his bold Aſſertion. But he pretends a reaſon. *They were never created for this purpoſe.* If that were ſo, what then? The Stars were never made to fight againſt *Siſera*, nor any one. Nor the Waters to drown the World. Nor the Ravens to feed Prophets or other Men. May not they therefore be uſed in thoſe Services? Again, No *ſenſitive* Being was made primarily for another, but to enjoy it ſelf, and to partake of the goodneſs of its Maker. May it not therefore miniſter to others? and doth not every Creature ſo? All things ſerve him. Thirdly, The Angels are Miniſtring Spirits, he ſaith, ordained to be ſuch. Doth he think they were made for that purpoſe only to ſerve us? Fourthly, Reaſonable humane Creatures are for one another. *Non nobis ſolùm*, &c. *Souls* are moſt proper to ſerve ſuch, not here only, but in the next World. They are ἰσάγγελοι, *like unto Angels*, and they are as proper at leaſt for the ſervice of Men. They have the ſame nature and affections. They feel our infirmities, and conſider us more than abſtract Spirits do. Which is the reaſon given why our Saviour took not upon him the nature of *Angels*, but of *Men*. Fifthly, Souls departed have Life, and Senſe, and Motion, capacity of being employed, and no doubt inclination to it; and whither more properly may they be ſent, than to thoſe of their own nature, whom they affect, are allied to, and ſo lately came from? Sixthly, The Angels are not confined to their Cœleſtial Habitation, but are ſent often to this nether World, as Mr. *Webſter* and the reſt confeſs, and why then ſhould we think that the Souls of the Juſt are ſo limited and reſtrained?

And laſtly, It is ſuppoſed both by Jews and Chriſtians, that the *Soul* of the *Meſſias* appeared to the Patriarchs,

archs, and was the Angel of the Covenant; and we know he was pleased to appear to St. *Stephen* at his Martyrdom, though then in Glory. And in the various Apparitions of Angels recorded in the Scripture, we have reason to think that some were humane Souls, called Angels from their Office.

So that on the whole, we see we have no cause to rely on Mr. *Webster*'s certainty, that *Samuel*'s Soul came not on a Divine Command.

SECT. XXV.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webster *against the appearing of the Soul of* Samuel, *proposed and answered.*

BUT Mr. *Webster* goes on: Fourthly, saith he, Mr. *Glanvil* hath only affirmed, not proved it. Which is not so, I alledge the same reasons I have mentioned here, in my *Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft*, *Sect.* 16. And the frequent affirmations of the Sacred Text, were sufficient ground for the Assertion, though no other reasons were added to them.

He argues, Fifthly, Miracles are wrought to confirm truth, but this would have confirmed *Saul* and the Witch in their wicked ways, *p.* 174. I answer, Miracles are not always wrought to confirm truth, but sometimes to declare it. And these sort are often for that purpose. Such was this, to pronounce the final Sentence and Doom on *Saul*, as to the concerns of this World. And the Prophet's appearing so contrary to the Womans expectation, and before she had performed her spells, struck her into dread and amazement, and so she could draw no incouragement thence, to countenance her trade of Witchcraft.

Sixthly, He saith it is not credible, but that *Samuel* would have reproved the Sorceress. But that was not his business, and it is like she being one of that vile and Diabolical

Diabolical profeſſion was forſaken of God and good Spirits, and given up to thoſe evil ones that were her Agents and Familiars. Such derelictions we ſometimes read of. And certainly if any courſe of ſinning occaſions and brings ſuch a judgment (as ſome no doubt do) this of Witchcraft and Confederacy with evil Spirits, is one that moſt juſtly may.

Seventhly, But God had refuſed to anſwer *Saul* by any living Prophet, and Eightly would not vouchſafe him his Spirit in the ordinary way, and therefore it is not probable he would do it by ſending a Prophet from the dead. Which arguings can only diſcover our ignorance in the Reaſons of the Divine Counſels and Actions. But yet it may be ſaid, God had indeed withdrawn all comfortable and directive Communications from him, but this was of another ſort, a further inſtance of the Divine Diſpleaſure, and Declarative of the forſaken Kings Doom. Which was no favour, but indeed a judgment to which the Divine Juſtice was probably further provoked by this his ſin of dealing with the Sorcereſs.

But Ninthly, *Abraham* would not ſend *Lazarus* upon the Rich Man's deſire to his ſurviving Brethren, *p.* 175. Nor can any one think it follows that, becauſe one came from the dead to an extraordinary perſon, and upon an occaſion that was ſuch; that therefore Prophets, or other Souls ſhall be ſent from thence, ordinarily to warn thoſe that have other ſufficient means of conviction and amendment. The Tenth is to fill up tale. Where doth Mr. *Glanvil*, ſaith he, find it in Scripture, or Orthodoxal Divines, that ever any Bleſſed Soul was ſent on a Divine Errand to any here below? Which he objected, and I anſwered before.

SECT.

SECT. XXVI.

That the Soul of Samuel *might come of it ſelf, as well as be ſent by Divine Command, either Opinion defenſible.*

I Have briefly recited, and I hope cleared Mr *Webſter's* Objections, which he runs out into great length and numerous impertinencies. And indeed his Arguments are often ſuch confident Nothings, that it is really a ſhame to go about to anſwer them. But I ſhall never paſs by any thing of his ſtrength.

But though I have defended the Opinion, that *Samuel's* Soul was ſent on a Divine Errand to *Saul*, againſt Mr. *Webſter's* contrary pretences; yet is there another thing ſuppoſable, which is as probable, *viz.* That *Samuel* came without any direct command, being barely permitted, and that the earneſt and importunate deſire of *Saul* to have ſome Communication with him in his diſtreſs, invited and inclined him to it. Thus it might be, and there is no cauſe to think, but that bleſſed Souls have ſometimes ſuch liberty allowed them; which of theſe it was, I ſhall not preſume to determine, both are defenſible, and either ſufficient for my purpoſe.

SECT. XXVII.

Several other Objections againſt the appearing of the Soul of Samuel *anſwered.*

BUT there are other Objections beſides Mr *Webſter's*, againſt the Tenent, that it was the Soul of *Samuel*; I ſhall not conceal any one that hath any force in it.

Firſt it is urged, That *Witches* and *Magicians* have no power over the Spirits of the Juſt, and therefore this *Pythoneſs* could not raiſe *Samuel*. Nor do we ſay ſhe did.

did. He appear'd (as 'tis probable from the Text) before ſhe had made her Conjurations. Which might be one reaſon of her crying out. He came either ſent from God, or of his own inclination. The *Devil* nor *Witch* had nothing to do in it.

But Secondly, would God ſend *Samuel* at ſuch a time, when he was ſeeking ſatisfaction from Enchantment? And why not as well that, as appoint the Prophet to meet the Meſſengers of *Ahaziah* when he ſent to *Beelzebub*, 2 *Kings* 1? That King ſent to the Idol of *Ekron* to inquire his Fate, and God acquainted him with it by his Prophet *Elijah*. Thus alſo when *Balak* had required *Balaam* to curſe the *Iſraelites*, God put a Prophecy into his Mouth, and made him bleſs them, *Numb.* 22. *&c.*

Thirdly, The Woman ſaid, ſhe ſaw Gods ariſing, a Company of evil Spirits (ſo ſome interpret) and what did *Samuel* among them? But I ſaw *Gods* is more probably rendred by others a *God*, a Divine Perſonage, the plural Number for the ſingular to expreſs honour. And that it is ſo to be underſtood is ſignified plainly by the ſingular Relative that follows; *Of what form is he*, v. 14. Or if more be meant, why might they not be good *Genii* that accompanied *Samuel*, a great and Divine Perſonage, eminent no doubt in the other World as he was in this?

Fourthly, Some argue from the Queſtion of the Apparition, *v.* 15. *Why haſt thou diſquieted me? Samuel*, ſay they, whether ſent by God, or coming of his own accord, could not be diſquieted by appearing. Nor was there any real diſturbance in it, but the Spirit of the Prophet ſpeaks our Language, who are apt to fancy the dead to reſt in their Graves, and to be diſturbed of their repoſe, when upon any occaſion they appear among the living.

Fifthly, But he ſaith, that *Saul* and his Sons ſhould be with him, *viz.* in *Thalamo juſtorum*, which ſome think not unlikely, believing that *Saul* was reprobate only in

Type.

Type. But more probably the meaning is, that he ſhould be in the State of the dead in another World, as he the Prophet was.

Sixthly and Laſtly, The Spectre ſaid, that to *morrow* he ſhould be with him, which was not true, for ſeveral days intervened before the Battle. But the word *to morrow* need not to be taken in ſtrictneſs, but in a Latitude of interpretation for a ſhort time. He was to dye in or upon the Fight, and the Enemies were now ready for it, and ſo the event was to be within a very little while. The prediction of which, was a Prophecy of a thing very contingent, and ſhews that the Predictor was the real *Samuel*.

SECT. XXVIII.

An Anſwer to that Objection, That if it was Samuel'*s Soul that appeared, it makes nothing to Witchcraft.*

BUT if it were the real *Samuel*, will they ſay, this Story will then make nothing for the Opinion of Witchcraft. For *Samuel* was not raiſed by Enchantment, but came either of his own accord, or on a Divine Errand. To which Objection, I ſay,

Firſt, Here is at leaſt proof of an Apparition of a Man after Death.

Secondly, *Saul*'s going to this *Pythoneſs* upon ſuch an Inquiry, and ſhe undertaking to bring the perſon up, whom he ſhould name (at leaſt the appearance of him) intimated *v.* 11. are good proof that this had been her practice, though at this time over-ruled, and that ſhe acted by an Evil Spirit. For certainly when *Saul* intreats her to *Divine to him by her Familiar Spirit*, he did not mean that ſhe ſhould deceive, and delude him by a *Confederate Knave*. The ſenſleſneſs of which Figment I have already ſufficiently diſproved. That the Woman was uſed to ſuch practices, will appear fully when I come to prove Witchcraft from * expreſs Texts.

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* *THE express Texts that he means, I suppose are such as these,* Exod. 22. 18. 2 Chron. 33. 6. Gal. 5. 20. Micah 5. 12. Acts 13. 6, 8. *and* Chap. 8, 9. *and more especially* Deut. 18. 10. *Where almost all the Names of Witches are enumerated, namely, of all those that are inveigled by Covenant with Evil Spirits, either explicitly, or by submitting to their Ceremonies. See Dr.* H--- M--- *his Postscript.*

SECT. XXIX.

They that hold it was an Evil Spirit that appeared to Saul, *that their opinion may be true for ought Mr.* Webster *brings against it.*

AS to the Opinion of divers Divines, that the appearing *Samuel* was indeed an Evil Spirit in his likeness, though I judge it not so probable as the other of the real *Samuel*, yet the interpretation is not absurd nor impossible. And because I do not absolutely determine either way, I shall defend it against Mr. *Webster*'s contrary Arguments, which whether it be so or not so, prove nothing. He saith,

First, That this begs two false suppositions, *p.* 175. As First, That the Devils are simply incorporeal Spirits. By which if he means *Incorporeal* in their Intrinsick Essential Constitution, such no doubt they are, as every Intellectual Being is. But if he mean by *simply Incorporeal*, disunited from all Matter and Body, so perhaps (and most likely) they are not. But neither the one, or the other of these, is supposed by the Opinion Mr. *Webster* impugns. The second false supposition is, That Devils can assume Bodies. That they can appear in

in divers Shapes and Figures, like humane and other Bodies, we affirm, and it is plain from the Scripture, as to Angels, and I shall make the same good, in reference to other Spirits in due place. So that we may suppose it still, till Mr. *Webster* hath evinced the contrary, as he promiseth. How he performs I shall consider in due place.

His Second Argument is, That he is not of their Opinion, that the Devils move, and rove up and down in this Elementary World at pleasure. Which no one I know saith. They go to and fro, and compass the Earth, but still within the bounds of the Divine Permission, the Laws of the Angelical World, and those of their own Kingdom; which prevent the Troubles and Disturbances in the World from them, which he saith would ensue.

Advertisement.

THus far runs the Proof of the Existence *of* Apparitions *and* Witchcraft, *from* Holy Scripture, *entire. The three or four Lines that follow in the* M. S. *and are left out, break off abruptly. But what is said, sufficiently subverts the force of Mr.* Webster'*s Arguments against their Opinion, that say it was the* Devil *that appeared to* Saul. *I will only here take notice, that this part which reaches hitherto, though it be not fully finished, yet it abundantly affords Proof, for the Conclusion, namely, for the* Existence *of* Spirits, Apparitions, *and* Witches, *from Testimony of Holy Scripture, to as many as yield to the Authority thereof. But the following* Collection *is a Confirmation of the same things, as well to the* Anti-Scripturists, *as to them that believe Scripture.*

And the leading Story of the Dæmon *of* Tedworth, *I hope now will prove irrefragable, and unexceptionable, if the Reader retain in his mind, Mr.* Glanvil'*s Preface to this*

this second Part of his Saducismus Triumphatus, *and Mr.* Mompesson's *Letters, the one to Mr.* Glanvil, *the other to Mr.* Collins, *which cannot but abundantly undeceive the World. So that it is needless to record how Mr.* Glanvil *wrote to Mr.* William Claget *of* Bury, *and professed,* He had not the least ground to think he was imposed on in what he related, and that he had great cause from what he saw himself, to say, it was impossible there should be any Imposture in that business.

To the same purpose he wrote to Mr. Gilbert Clark *in* Northamptonshire, *as also to my self, and undoubtedly to many more, as he has intimated in his Preface. Besides that, to the Parties above-named, he sent a Copy of that Letter of Mr.* Mompesson, *which was wrote to himself.*

So that that groundless Rumour being thus fully silenced, we may now seasonably relate, and that with confidence, that assured and unexceptionably attested Story of the Dæmon *of* Tedworth. *Which is as follows.*

Proof

Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, *and* Witches, *from a choice* Collection *of modern* Relations.

RELATION I.

Which is the enlarged Narrative of the Dæmon *of* Tedworth, *or of the Disturbances at Mr.* Mompesson's *House, caused by* Witchcraft, *and the villany of the* Drummer.

MR. *John Mompesson* of *Tedworth*, in the County of *Wilts*, being about the middle of *March*, in the Year 1661. at a Neighbouring Town called *Ludgarshal*, and hearing a Drum beat there, he inquired of the Bailiff of the Town, at whose House he then was, what it meant The Bailiff told him, that they had for some days been troubled with an idle Drummer, who demanded Money of the Constable by vertue of a pretended Pass, which he thought was counterfeit. Upon this Mr. *Mompesson* sent for the Fellow, and askt him by what Authority he went up and down the Country in that manner with his Drum. The Drummer answered, he had good authority, and produced his Pass, with a Warrant under the Hands of Sir *William Cawly*, and Colonel *Ayliff* of *Gretenham*. Mr. *Mompesson* knowing these Gentlemens Hands, discovered that the Pass and Warrant were counterfeit, and thereupon commanded the Vagrant to put off his Drum, and charged the Constable to carry him before the next Justice of the Peace, to be further examined and punisht.

The Fellow then confeſſed the Cheat, and begged earneſtly to have his Drum. Mr. *Mompeſſon* told him, that if he underſtood from Colonel *Ayliff*, whoſe Drummer he ſaid he was, that he had been an honeſt Man, he ſhould have it again, but in the mean time he would ſecure it. So he left the Drum with the Bailiff, and the Drummer in the Conſtable's hands, who it ſeems was prevailed on by the Fellows intreaties to let him go.

About the midſt of *April* following, when Mr. *Mompeſſon* was preparing for a Journey to *London*, the Bailiff ſent the Drum to his Houſe. When he was returned from that Journey, his Wife told him, that they had been much affrighted in the Night by Thieves, and that the Houſe had been like to have been broken up. And he had not been at home above three Nights, when the ſame noiſe was heard that had diſturbed his Family in his abſence. It was a very great knocking at his Doors, and the outſides of his Houſe. Hereupon he got up, and went about the Houſe with a Brace of Piſtols in his hands. He opened the Door where the great knocking was, and then he heard the noiſe at another Door. He opened that alſo, and went out round his Houſe, but could diſcover nothing, only he ſtill heard a ſtrange noiſe and hollow ſound. When he was got back to Bed, the noiſe was a Thumping and Drumming on the top of his Houſe, which continued a good ſpace, and then by degrees went off into the Air.

After this, the noiſe of Thumping and Drumming was very frequent, uſually five Nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outſides of the Houſe, which is moſt of it of Board. It conſtantly came as they were going to ſleep, whether early or late. After a Months Diſturbance without, it came into the Room where the Drum lay, four or five nights in ſeven, within half an hour after they were in Bed, continuing almoſt two. The ſign of it juſt before it came, was, they ſtill heard an hurling in the Air over the Houſe, and at its going off, the beating of a Drum like that at the

the breaking up of a Guard. It continued in this Room for the ſpace of two Months, which time Mr. *Mompeſſon* himſelf lay there to obſerve it. In the fore part of the night, it uſed to be very troubleſome, but after two hours all would be quiet.

Mrs. *Mompeſſon* being brought to Bed, there was but little noiſe the night ſhe was in Travail, nor any for three Weeks after, till ſhe had recovered ſtrength. But after this civil ceſſation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vext the youngeſt Children, beating their Bedſteds with that violence, that all preſent expected when they would fal in pieces. In laying Hands on them, one ſhould feell no blows, but might perceive them to ſhake exceedingly. For an hour together it would beat, *Round-heads and Cuckolds*, the *Tat-too*, and ſeveral other points of War, as well as any Drummer. After this, they ſhould hear a ſcratching under the Childrens Bed, as if by ſomething that had Iron Tallons. It would lift the Children up in their Beds, follow them from one Room to another, and for a while haunted none particularly but them.

There was a Cock-loft in the Houſe which had not been obſerved to be troubled, thither they removed the Children, putting them to Bed while it was fair day, where they were no ſooner laid, but their troubler was with them as before.

On the Fifth of *November* 1661. it kept a mighty noiſe, and a ſervant obſerving two Boards in the Childrens room ſeeming to move, he bid it give him one of them. Upon which the Board came (nothing moving it that he ſaw) within a yard of him. The Man added, Nay let me have it in my Hand; upon which it was ſhov'd quite home to him. He thruſt it back, and it was driven to him again, and ſo up and down, to and fro, at leaſt twenty times together, till Mr. *Mompeſſon* forbad his Servant ſuch Familiarities. This was in the day-time, and ſeen by a whole Room full of people. That morning it left a ſulphurous ſmell behind it, which

was very offensive. At night the Minister, one Mr. *Cragg*, and divers of the Neighbours came to the House on a visit. The Minister went to Prayers with them, kneeling at the Childrens Bed-side, where it was then very troublesome and loud. During Prayer-time it withdrew into the Cock-loft, but returned as soon as Prayers were done, and then in sight of the Company, the Chairs walkt about the Room of themselves, the Childrens shooes were hurled over their Heads, and every loose thing moved about the Chamber. At the same time a Bedstaff was thrown at the Minister, which hit him on the Leg, but so favourably, that a Lock of Wooll could not have fallen more softly, and it was observed, that it stopt just where it lighted, without rolling or moving from the place.

Mr. *Mompesson* perceiving, that it so much persecuted the little Children, he lodged them out at a Neighbours House, taking his Eldest Daughter, who was about Ten years of age into his own Chamber, where it had not been a Month before. As soon as she was in Bed, the disturbance begun there again, continuing three Weeks Drumming, and making other noises, and it was observed, that it would exactly answer in Drumming any thing that was beaten or called for. After this, the House where the Children were Lodged out, happening to be full of strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the Parlour, they were lodged there, where also their Persecutor found them, but then only pluckt them by the Hair and Night-cloaths, without any other disturbance.

It was noted, that when the noise was loudest, and came with the most sudden and surprising violence, no Dog about the House would move, though the knocking was oft so boisterous and rude, that it hath been heard at a considerable distance in the Fields, and awakened the Neighbours in the Village, none of which live very near this House. The Servants sometimes were lift up with their Beds, and then let gently down again without

out hurt, at other times it would lie like a great weight upon their Feet.

About the latter end of *Dec.* 1661. the Drummings were less frequent, and then they heard a noise like the gingling of Money, occasioned, as it was thought, by somewhat Mr. *Mompesson*'s Mother had spoken the day before to a Neighbour, who talkt of Fayries leaving Money, *viz.* That she should like it well, if it would leave them some to make amends for their trouble. The night after the speaking of which, there was a great chinking of Money over all the House.

After this it desisted from the ruder noises, and employed it self in little Apish and less troublesome Tricks. On *Christmass Eve* a little before day, one of the little Boys arising out of his Bed, was hit on a sore place upon his Heel, with the Latch of the Door, the Pin that it was fastened with, was so small, that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The night after *Christmas* day, it threw the old Gentlewomans Cloaths about the Room, and hid her Bible in the Ashes. In such silly tricks it was frequent.

After this, it was very troublesome to a Servant of Mr. *Mompesson*'s, who was a stout Fellow, and of sober Conversation. This Man lay within, during the greatest disturbance, and for several nights something would endeavour to pluck his Cloaths off the Bed, so that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and sometimes they would be pluckt from him by main force, and his shoes thrown at his head. And now and then he should find himself forcibly held, as it were bound Hand and Foot, but he found that whenever he could make use of his Sword, and struck with it, the Spirit quitted its hold.

A little after these contests, a Son of Sir *Thomas Bennet*, whose Workman the Drummer had sometimes been, came to the House, and told Mr. *Mompesson* some words that he had spoken, which it seems was not well taken. For as soon as they were in Bed, the Drum was

beat up very violently and loudly, the Gentleman arose and called his Man to him, who lay with Mr. *Mompesson*'s Servant just now spoken of, whose name was *John*. As soon as Mr. *Bennet*'s Man was gone, *John* heard a rusling noise in his Chamber, and something came to his Bedside, as if it had been one in Silk. The Man presently reacheth after his Sword, which he found held from him, and 'twas with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power, which as soon as he had done, the Spectre left him, and it was always observed that it still avoided a Sword.

About the beginning of *January* 1662. they were wont to hear a Singing in the Chimney before it came down. And one night about this time, Lights were seen in the House. One of them came into Mr. *Mompesson*'s Chamber which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the Eyes of those that saw it. After the Light something was heard coming up the Stairs, as if it had been one without Shooes. The Light was seen also four or five times in the Childrens Chamber; and the Maids confidently affirm, that the Doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their sight, and when they were opened they heard a noise as if half a dozen had entred together. After which some were heard to walk about the Room, and one rusled as if it had been in silk. The like Mr. *Mompesson* himself once heard.

During the time of the knocking, when many were present, a Gentleman of the Company said, *Satan*, if the Drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more, which it did very distinctly and stopt. Then the Gentleman knockt, to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it did not. For further trial, he bid it for confirmation, if it were the Drummer, to give five knocks and no more that night, which it did, and left the House quiet all the night after. This was done in the presence of Sir *Thomas Chamberlain* of *Oxfordshire*, and divers others.

On

On *Saturday* Morning, an hour before day, *Jan.* 10. a Drum was heard beat upon the outſides of Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the Houſe, where ſome Gentlemen ſtrangers lay, playing at their door and without, four or five ſeveral Tunes, and ſo went off into the air.

The next night, a Smith in the Village lying with *John* the Man, they heard a noiſe in the room, as if one had been ſhoeing of an Horſe, and ſomewhat came, as it were with a pair of Pincers, ſnipping at the Smiths noſe moſt part of the night.

One morning Mr. *Mompeſſon* riſing early to go a Journey, heard a great noiſe below, where the Children lay, and running down with a Piſtol in his hand, he heard a Voice, crying *a Witch*, *a Witch*, as they had alſo heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was quiet.

Having one Night played ſome little tricks at Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Beds feet, it went into another Bed, where on eof his Daughters lay; There it paſſed from ſide to ſide, lifting her up as it paſſed under. At that time there were three kinds of noiſes in the Bed. They endeavoured to thruſt at it with a Sword, but it ſtill ſhifted and carefully avoided the thruſt, ſtill getting under the Child when they offered at it. The night after it came panting like a Dog out of breath. Upon which one took a Bedſtaff to knock, which was caught out of her hand, and thrown away, and company coming up, the room was preſently filled with a bloomy noiſome ſmell, and was very hot, though without fire, in a very ſharp and ſevere Winter. It continued in the Bed panting and ſcratching an hour and half, and then went into the next Chamber, where it knockt a little, and ſeemed to rattle a Chain; thus it did for two or three nights together.

After this, the old Gentlewomans Bible was found in the Aſhes, the Paper ſide being downwards. Mr. *Mompeſſon* took it up, and obſerved, that it lay open at the

third Chapter of St. *Mark*, where there is mention of the unclean Spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the Twelve to cast out Devils, and of the Scribes Opinion, that he cast them out through *Beelzebub*. The next night they strewed Ashes over the Chamber, to see what impressions it would leave. In the morning they found in one place the resemblance of a great Claw, in another of a Lesser, some Letters in another, which they could make nothing of, besides many Circles and Scratches in the Ashes.

About this time I went to the House, on purpose to inquire the truth of those passages, of which there was so loud a report. It had ceased from its Drumming and ruder noises before I came thither, but most of the more remarkable circumstances before related, were confirmed to me there, by several of the Neighbours together, who had been present at them. At this time it used to haunt the Children, and that as soon as they were laid. They went to Bed that night I was there, about Eight of the Clock, when a Maid-servant coming down from them, told us it was come. The neighbours that were there, and two Ministers who had seen and heard divers times, went away, but Mr. *Mompesson* and I, and a Gentleman that came with me went up. I heard a strange scratching as I went up the Stairs, and when we came into the Room, I perceived it was just behind the Bolster of the Childrens Bed, and seemed to be against the Tick. It was as loud a scratching, as one with long Nails could make upon a Bolster. There were two little modest Girls in the Bed, between Seven and Eleven years old as I guest. I saw their hands out of the Cloaths, and they could not contribute to the noise that was behind their heads. They had been used to it, and had still some body or other in the Chamber with them, and therefore seemed not to be much affrighted. I standing at the Beds-head, thrust my hand behind the Bolster, directing it to the place whence the noise seemed to come. Whereupon the noise ceased there, and was heard

heard in another part of the Bed. But when I had taken out my hand it returned, and was heard in the ſame place as before. I had been told that it would imitate noiſes, and made trial by ſcratching ſeveral times upon the Sheet, as 5, and 7, and 10, which it followed and ſtill ſtopt at my number. I ſearcht under and behind the Bed, turned up the Cloaths to the Bed-cords, graſpt the Bolſter, ſounded the Wall behind, and made all the ſearch that poſſibly I could to find if there were any trick, contrivance, or common cauſe of it; the like did my Friend, but we could diſcover nothing. So that I was then verily perſwaded, and am ſo ſtill, that the noiſe was made by ſome *Dæmon* or *Spirit*. After it had ſcratcht about half an hour or more, it went into the midſt of the Bed under the Children, and there ſeemed to pant like a Dog out of breath very loudly. I put my hand upon the place, and felt the Bed bearing up againſt it, as if ſomething within had thruſt it up. I graſpt the Feathers to feel if any living thing were in it. I looked under and every where about, to ſee if there were any Dog or Cat, or any ſuch Creature in the Room, and ſo we all did, but found nothing. The motion it cauſed by this panting was ſo ſtrong, that it ſhook the Room and Windows very ſenſibly. It continued thus more than half an hour, while my Friend and I ſtaid in the Room, and as long after, as we were told. During the panting, I chanced to ſee as it had been ſomething (which I thought was a Rat or Mouſe) moving in a Linnen Bag, that hung up againſt another Bed that was in the Room. I ſtept and caught it by the upper end with one Hand, with which I held it, and drew it through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was no body near to ſhake the Bag, or if there had, no one could have made ſuch a motion, which ſeemed to be from within, as if a Living Creature had moved in it. This paſſage I mention not in the former Editions, becauſe it depended upon my ſingle Teſtimony, and might be ſubject to more Evaſions than the other I related;

but

but having told it to divers Learned and inquisitive Men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable, I have now added it here. It will I know be said by some, that my Friend and I were under some Affright, and so fancied noises and sights that were not. This is the Eternal Evasion. But if it be possible to know how a Man is affected, when in fear, and when unconcerned, I certainly know for mine own part, that during the whole time of my being in the Room, and in the House, I was under no more affrightment than I am, while I write this Relation. And if I know that I am now awake, and that I see the Objects that are before me, I know that I heard and saw the particulars I have told. There is, I am sensible, no great matter for story in them, but there is so much as convinceth me, that there was somewhat extraordinary, and what we usually call preternatural in the business. There were other passages at my being at *Tedworth*, which I published not, because they are not such plain and unexceptionable Proofs. I shall now briefly mention them, *valeant quantum valere possunt*. My Friend and I lay in the Chamber, where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all night, but early before day in the Morning, I was awakened, (and I awakened my Bedfellow) by a great knocking just without our Chamber door. I askt who was there several times, but the knocking still continued without answer. At last I said, *In the Name of God, who is it, and what would you have?* To which a Voice answered, *Nothing with you.* We thinking it had been some Servant of the House, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. *Mompesson* when we came down, he assured us, that no one of the House lay that way, or had business thereabout, and that his Servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was day. Which they confirmed, and protested that the noise was not made by them.

Mr. *Mompesson* had told us before, that it would be gone in the middle of the night, and come again divers

times

times early in the Morning about Four a Clock, and this I ſuppoſe was about that time.

Another paſſage was this, my Man coming up to me in the Morning, told me, that one of my Horſes (that on which I rode) was all in a ſweat, and lookt as if he had been rid all night. My Friend and I went down and found him ſo. I enquired how he had been uſed, and was aſſured that he had been well fed, and ordered as he uſed to be, and my Servant was one that was wont to be very careful about my Horſes. The Horſe I had had a good time, and never knew but that he was very ſound. But after I had rid him a Mile or two, very gently over a plain Down from Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s Houſe, he fell lame, and having made a hard ſhift to bring me home, died in two or three days, no one being able to imagine what he ailed. This I confeſs might be accident, or ſome unuſual diſtemper, but all things being put together, it ſeems very probable that it was ſomewhat elſe.

But I go on with Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s own particulars. There came one Morning a light into the Childrens Chamber, and a Voice crying, *a Witch*, *a Witch*, for at leaſt an hundred times together.

Mr. *Mompeſſon* at another time (being in the day) ſeeing ſome Wood move that was in the Chimney of a Room, where he was, as of it ſelf, diſcharged a Piſtol into it, after which they found ſeveral drops of Blood on the Hearth, and in divers places of the Stairs.

For two or three nights after the diſcharge of the Piſtol, there was a calm in the Houſe, but then it came again, applying it ſelf to a little Child newly taken from Nurſe. Which it ſo perſecuted, that it would not let the poor Infant reſt for two nights together, nor ſuffer a Candle in the Room, but carry them away lighted up the Chimney, or throw them under the Bed. It ſo ſcared this Child by leaping upon it, that for ſome hours it could not be recovered out of the fright. So that they were forced again to remove the Children out

of

of the House. The next night after which, something about Mid-night came up the Stairs, and knockt at Mr. *Mompesson*'s door, but he lying still, it went up another pair of Stairs, to his Man's Chamber, to whom it appeared standing at his Beds foot. The exact shape and proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great Body with two red and glaring Eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappeared.

Another night strangers being present, it purr'd in the Childrens Bed like a Cat, at which time also the Cloaths and Children were lift up from the Bed, and six Men could not keep them down: hereupon they removed the Children, intending to have ript up the Bed. But they were no sooner laid in another, but the second Bed was more troubled than the first. It continued thus four hours, and so beat the Childrens Leggs against the Bed-posts, that they were forced to arise, and sit up all night. After this it would empty Chamber-pots into their Beds, and strew them with Ashes, though they were never so carefully watcht. It put a long piked Iron into Mr. *Mompesson*'s Bed, and into his Mothers a naked Knife upright. It would fill Porrengers with Ashes, throw every thing about, and keep a noise all day.

About the beginning of *April* 1663. a Gentleman that lay in the House, had all his money turned black in his Pockets; and Mr *Mompesson* coming one Morning into his Stable, found the Horse he was wont to Ride, on the Ground, having one of his hinder Leggs in his Mouth, and so fastened there, that it was difficult for several Men to get it out with a Leaver. After this, there were some other remarkable things, but my Account goes no further. Only Mr. *Mompesson* writ me word, that afterwards the House was several nights beset with seven or eight in the shape of Men, who, as soon as a Gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into an Arbour.

The

The Drummer was tryed at the Aſſizes at *Salisbury* upon this occaſion. He was committed firſt to *Glouceſter* Gaol for ſtealing, and a *Wiltſhire* Man coming to ſee him, he askt what news in *Wiltſhire*? The Viſitant ſaid, he knew of none. No, ſaith the Drummer! do not you hear of the Drumming at a Gentlemans Houſe at *Tedworth?* That I do enough, ſaid the other. I, quoth the Drummer, I have plagued him (or to that purpoſe) and he ſhall never be quiet, till he hath made me ſatiſfaction for taking away my Drum. Upon Information of this, the Fellow was tryed for a Witch at *Sarum*, and all the main circumſtances I have related, were ſworn at the Aſſizes by the Miniſter of the Pariſh, and divers others of the moſt intelligent and ſubſtantial Inhabitants, who had been Eye and Ear-witneſſes of them, time after time for divers years together.

The fellow was condemned to Tranſportation, and accordingly ſent away; but I know not how ('tis ſaid by raiſing ſtorms, and affrighting the Seamen) he made a ſhift to come back again. And 'tis obſervable, that during all the time of his reſtraint and abſence the Houſe was quiet, but as ſoon as ever he came back at liberty, the diſturbance returned.

He had been a Souldier under *Cromwel*, and uſed to talk much of Gallant Books he had of an odd Fellow, who was counted a Wizzard. Upon this occaſion I ſhall here add a paſſage, which I had not from Mr. *Mompeſſon*, but yet relates to the main purpoſe.

The Gentleman, who was with me at the Houſe, Mr. *Hill*, being in company with one *Compton* of *Sommerſetſhire*, who practiſed Phyſick, and pretends to ſtrange matters, related to him this ſtory of Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s diſturbance. The Phyſician told him, he was ſure it was nothing but a Rendezvous of Witches, and that for an hundred pounds, he would undertake to rid the Houſe of all diſturbance. In purſuit of this diſcourſe, he talkt of many high things, and having drawn my Friend into another Room apart from the reſt of the Company,

Company, ſaid, he would make him ſenſible he could do ſomething more than ordinary, and askt him who he deſired to ſee. Mr. *Hill* had no great confidence in his talk, but yet being earneſtly preſt to name ſome one, He ſaid, he deſired to ſee no one ſo much as his Wife, who was then many miles diſtant from them at her home. Upon this *Compton* took up a Looking-glaſs that was in the Room, and ſetting it down again, bid my Friend look in it; which he did, and there, as he moſt ſolemnly and ſeriouſly profeſſeth, he ſaw the exact Image of his Wife in that habit which ſhe then wore, and working at her Needle in ſuch a part of the Room (there repreſented alſo) in which and about which time ſhe really was, as he found upon enquiry when he came home. The Gentleman himſelf averred this to me, and he is a very ſober, intelligent, and credible perſon. *Compton* had no knowledge of him before, and was an utter ſtranger to the perſon of his Wife. The ſame Man we ſhall meet again in the ſtory of the Witchcrafts of *Elizabeth Style*, whom he diſcovered to be a Witch, by foretelling her coming into an Houſe, and going out again without ſpeaking, as is ſet down in the third *Relation*. He was by all counted a very odd perſon.

Thus I have written the ſumm of Mr. *Mompeſſon*'s diſturbance, which I had partly from his own mouth related before divers, who had been witneſſes of all, and confirmed his relation, and partly from his own Letters, from which the order and ſeries of things is taken. The ſame particulars he writ alſo to Dr. *Creed*, then Doctor of the Chair in *Oxford*.

Mr. *Mompeſſon* is a Gentleman, of whoſe truth in this account, I have not the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion, he being neither vain nor credulous, but a diſcreet, ſagacious and manly perſon. Now the credit of matters of Fact depends much upon the Relators, who, if they cannot be deceived themſelves nor ſuppoſed any ways intereſſed to impoſe upon others, ought to be credited. For upon theſe circumſtances, all humane Faith is grounded,

grounded, and matter of Fact is not capable of any proof besides, but that of immediate sensible evidence. Now this Gentleman cannot be thought ignorant, whether that he relates be true or no, the Scene of all being his own House, himself a witness, and that not of a circumstance or two, but of an hundred, nor for once or twice only, but for the space of some years, during which he was a concerned, and inquisitive Observer. So that it cannot with any shew of reason be supposed that any of his Servants abused him, since in all that time he must needs have detected the deceit. And what interest could any of his Family have had (if it had been possible to have managed without discovery) to continue so long so troublesome, and so injurious an Imposture? Nor can it with any whit of more probability be imagined, that his own melancholy deluded him, since (besides that he is no crazy nor imaginative person) that humour could not have been so lasting and pertinacious. Or if it were so in him, can we think he infected his whole Family, and those multitudes of Neighbours and others, who had so often been Witnesses of those passages? such Supposals are wild, and not like to tempt any, but those whose Wills are their Reasons. So that upon the whole, the principal Relator Mr. *Mompessen* himself knew, whether what He reports was true or not, whether those things acted in his House were contrived *Cheats*, or extraordinary *Realities*. And if so, what Interest could he serve in carrying on, or conniving at a jugling Design and Imposture?

He suffered by it in his Name, in his Estate, in all his Affairs, and in the general Peace of his Family. The Unbelievers in the matter of Spirits and Witches took him for an Impostor. Many others judged the Permission of such an extraordinary Evil to be the Judgment of God upon him, for some notorious wickedness or impiety. Thus his Name was continually exposed to Censure, and his Estate suffered, by the Concourse of People from all parts to his House, by the

the Diversion it gave him from his Affairs, by the Discouragement of Servants, by reason of which he could hardly get any to live with him. To which if I add the continuall Hurry that his Family was in, the Affrights, Vexations and Tossings up and down of his Children, and the Watchings and Disturbance of his whole House (in all which, Himself must needs be the most concerned) I say, if these things are considered, there will be little reason to think he could have any Interest to put a Cheat upon the World, in which He would most of all have injured and abused Himself. Or if he should have designed and managed so incredible, so unprofitable a Delusion, 'tis strange that he should have troubled himself so long in such a Business, only to deceive, and to be talkt of. And it is yet more so, that none of those many inquisitive Persons that came thither purposely to criticize and examine the Truth of those Matters, could make any Discoveries of the Juggling, especially since many came prejudiced against the Belief of such things in general, and others resolved before-hand against the Belief of this, and all were permitted the utmost Freedom of Search and Enquiry. And after Things were weighed and examined, some that were before greatly prejudiced went away fully convinced. To all which I add, That

There are divers Particulars in the Story, in which no Abuse or Deceit could have been practised, as the Motion of Boards and Chairs of themselves, the beating of a Drum in the midst of a Room, and in the Air, when nothing was to be seen: the great Heat in a Chamber that had no Fire in excessive cold weather, the Scratching and Panting, the violent Beating and Shaking of the Bedsteads, of which there was no perceivable Cause or Occasion: In these and such like Instances, it is not to be conceived how Tricks could have been put upon so Many, so Jealous, and so Inquisitive Persons as were Witnesses of them.

'Tis

'Tis true, that when the Gentlemen the King sent were there, the House was quiet, and nothing seen nor heard that night, which was confidently and with triumph urged by many, as a confutation of the story. But 'twas bad Logick to conclude in matters of *Fact* from a single *Negative*, and such a one against numerous *Affirmatives*, and so affirm, that a thing was never done, because not at such a particular time, and that no body ever saw what this Man or that did not. By the same way of reasoning, I may infer that there were never any Robberies done on *Salisbury* Plain, *Hounslow* Heath, or the other noted places, because I have often Travelled all those ways, and yet was never Robbed; and the *Spaniard* inferred well that said, *There was no Sun in* England, *because he had been six weeks here, and never saw it*. This is the common argument of those that deny the Being of *Apparitions*, they have Travelled all hours of the night, and never saw any thing worse than themselves (which may well be) and thence they conclude, that all pretended *Apparitions* are *Fancies* or *Impostures*. But why do not such arguers conclude, that there was never a Cut-Purse in *London*, because they have lived there many years without being met with by any of those Practisers? Certainly he that denies *Apparitions* upon the confidence of this *Negative* against the vast heap of *Positive* assurances, is credulous in believing there was ever any *Highway-man* in the World, if he himself was never Robb'd. And the Trials of Assizes and Attestations of those that have (if he will be just) ought to move his Assent no more in this case, than in that of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, which have the very same evidence.

But as to the quiet of Mr. *Mompesson*'s House, when the Courtiers were there, it may be remembred and considered, that the disturbance was not constant, but intermitted sometimes several days, sometimes weeks. So that the intermission at that time might be accidental, or perhaps the *Dæmon* was not willing to give so publick a

Teſtimony of thoſe Tranſactions, which poſſibly might convince thoſe, who he had rather ſhould continue in the unbelief of his exiſtence. But however it were, this circumſtance will afford but a very ſlender inference againſt the credit of the ſtory, except among thoſe who are willing to take any thing for an Argument againſt things which they have an intereſt not to acknowledge.

I have thus related the ſum of the ſtory, and noted ſome circumſtances that aſſure the truth of it. I confeſs the paſſages recited are not ſo dreadful, tragical and amazing, as there are ſome in ſtory of this kind, yet are they never the leſs probable or true, for their being not ſo prodigious and aſtoniſhing. And they are ſtrange enough to prove themſelves effects of ſome *inviſible extraordinary Agent*, and ſo demonſtrate that there are *Spirits*, who ſometimes ſenſibly intermeddle in our affairs. And I think they do it with clearneſs of evidence. For theſe things were not done long ago, or at far diſtance, in an ignorant age, or among a barbarous people, they were not ſeen by two or three only of the Melancholick and ſuperſtitious, and reported by thoſe that made them ſerve the advantage and intereſt of a party. They were not the paſſages of a Day or Night, nor the vaniſhing glances of an *Apparition*; but theſe Tranſactions were *near* and *late*, *publick*, *frequent*, and of *divers years continuance*, witneſſed by multitudes of competent and unbyaſſed Atteſtors, and acted in a ſearching incredulous Age: Arguments enough one would think to convince any modeſt and capable reaſon.

Adver-

Advertisement.

THis *Narrative of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *is published in an Epistolar Form in the former Impressions. But the enlargement thereof, that is to say, the said Narrative enlarged for this intended Edition, is not in that form, and therefore is thus published according to Mr.* Glanvil's *MS. in this bare simple form it was found. We proceed now to the second Relation.*

RELAT. II.

Which is concerning Witchcraft practised by Jane Brooks *upon* Richard Jones, *Son of* Henry Jones *of* Shepton Mallet.

ON *Sunday* 15. of *Novemb.* 1657. about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Richard Jones* then a sprightly youth about twelve years old, Son of *Henry Jones* of *Shepton Mallet*, in the County of *Somerset*, being in his Father's House alone, and perceiving one looking in at the Windows, went to the Door, where one *Jane Brooks* of the same Town (but then by name unknown to this Boy) came to him. She desired him to give her a piece of close Bread, and gave him an Apple. After which she also stroked him down on the right side, shook him by the hand, and so bid him good night. The youth returned into the House, where he had been left well, when his Father and one *Gibson* went from him, but at their return, which was within an hour or thereabout, they found him ill, and complaining of his right side, in which the pain continued the most part of that night. And on *Munday* following in the Evening, the Boy rosted the Apple he had of *Jane Brooks*, and having eaten about half of it, was extreamly ill, and some-

times ſpeechleſs, but being recovered, he told his Father that a Woman of the Town on *Sunday* before, had given him that Apple, and that ſhe ſtroked him on the ſide. He ſaid he knew not her name, but ſhould her perſon, if he ſaw her. Upon this *Jones* was adviſed to invite the Women of *Shipton* to come to his Houſe, upon the occaſion of his Sons illneſs, and the Child told him, that in caſe the Woman ſhould come in when he was in his Fit, if he were not able to ſpeak, he would give him an intimation by a Jogg, and deſired that his Father would then lead him through the Room, for he ſaid he would put his hand upon her, if ſhe were there. After this he continuing very ill, many Women came daily to ſee him. And *Jane Brooks* the *Sunday* after, came in with two of her Siſters, and ſeveral other Women of the Neighbourhood were there.

Upon her coming in, the Boy was taken ſo ill, that for ſome time he could not ſee nor ſpeak, but having recovered his ſight, he gave his Father the *Item*, and he led him about the Room. The Boy drew towards *Jane Brooks*, who was behind her two Siſters among the other Women, and put his hand upon her, which his Father perceiving, immediately ſcratcheth her Face and drew Blood from her. The Youth then preſently cryed out that he was well, and ſo he continued ſeven or eight days. But then meeting with *Alice Coward*, Siſter to *Jane Brooks*, who paſſing by ſaid to him, [How do you my Honey] he preſently fell ill again. And after that, the ſaid *Coward* and *Brooks* often appeared to him. The Boy would deſcribe the Cloths and Habit they were in at the time exactly, as the Conſtable and others have found upon repairing to them, though *Brook*'s Houſe was at a good diſtance from *Jones*'s. This they often tried, and always found the Boy right in his Deſcriptions.

On a certain *Sunday* about Noon, the Child being in a Room with his Father and one *Gibſon*, and in his Fit, he on the ſudden called out, that he ſaw *Jane Brooks* on the

the Wall, and pointed to the place, where immediately *Gibson* ſtruck with a Knife. Upon which the Boy cryed out, [O Father, cooz *Gibson* hath cut *Jane Brook*'s hand, and 'tis Bloody] The Father and *Gibson* immediately repaired to the Conſtable, a diſcreet Perſon, and acquainting him with what had paſſed, deſired him to go with them to *Jane Brook*'s Houſe, which he did. They found her ſitting in her Room on a Stool, with one hand over the other. The Conſtable askt her how ſhe did? She anſwered, not well. He askt again why ſhe ſat with one hand over the other? She replied, ſhe was wont to do ſo. He enquired if any thing were amiſs with her Hand? Her anſwer was, it was well enough. The Conſtable deſired he might ſee the Hand that was under, which ſhe being unwilling to ſhew him, he drew it out and found it bloody, according to what the Boy had ſaid. Being askt how it came ſo, ſhe ſaid 'twas ſcratched with a great Pin.

On the Eighth of *December*, 1657. The Boy, *Jane Brooks*, and *Alice Coward*, appeared at *Caſtle-Cary* before the Juſtices, Mr. *Hunt* and Mr. *Cary*. The Boy having begun to give his Teſtimony, upon the coming in of the two Women, and their looking on him, was inſtantly taken Speechleſs; and ſo remained till the Women were removed out of the Room, and then in a ſhort time, upon Examination, he gave a full relation of the mentioned particulars.

On the Eleventh of *January* following, the Boy was again examined by the ſame Juſtices at *Shepton Mallet*, and upon the ſight of *Jane Brooks*, was again taken Speechleſs, but was not ſo afterwards when *Alice Coward* came into the Room to him.

On the next appearance at *Shepton*, which was on the Seventeenth of *February*, there were preſent many Gentlemen, Miniſters and others. The Boy fell into his Fit upon the ſight of *Jane Brooks*, and lay in a Man's Arms like a dead Perſon; the Woman was then willed to lay her Hand on him, which ſhe did, and he thereupon

ſtarted and ſprang out in a very ſtrange and unuſual manner. One of the Juſtices to prevent all poſſibilities of Legerdemain, cauſed *Gibſon* and the reſt to ſtand off from the Boy, and then that Juſtice himſelf held him; the Youth being blindfolded, the Juſtice called as if *Brooks* ſhould touch him, but winked to others to do it, which two or three ſucceſſively did, but the Boy appeared not concerned. The Juſtice then called on the Father to take him, but had privately before deſired one Mr. *Geoffry Strode*, to bring *Jane Brooks* to touch him at ſuch a time as he ſhould call for his Father, which was done, and the Boy immediately ſprang out after a very odd and violent faſhion. He was after touched by ſeveral Perſons and moved not, but *Jane Brooks* being again cauſed to put her Hand upon him, he ſtarted and ſprang out twice or thrice as before. All this while he remained in his Fit, and ſome time after; and being then laid on a Bed in the ſame Room, the People preſent could not for a long time bow either of his Arms or Legs.

Between the mentioned 15 of *Nov.* and the 11 of *Jan.* the two Women appeared often to the Boy, their Hands cold, their Eyes ſtaring, and their Lips and Cheeks looking pale. In this manner on a *Thurſday* about Noon, the Boy being newly laid into his Bed, *Jane Brooks* and *Alice Coward* appeared to him, and told him, that what they had begun they could not perform. But if he would ſay no more of it, they would give him Money, and ſo put a Two-pence into his Pocket. After which they took him out of his Bed, laid him on the ground, and vaniſhed, and the Boy was found, by thoſe that came next into the Room, lying on the Floor, as if he had been dead. The Two-pence was ſeen by many, and when it was put into the Fire, and hot, the Boy would fall ill; but as ſoon as it was taken out and cold, he would be again as well as before. This was ſeen and obſerved by a Miniſter, a diſcreet Perſon, when the Boy was in one Room, and the Two-pence (without his knowledge)

knowledge) put into the Fire in another, and this was divers times tried in the presence of several Persons.

Between the 8. of *Dec* and the 17. of *Feb.* in the Year mentioned, divers Persons, at sundry times, heard in the Boy a noise like the croaking of a Toad, and a Voice within him saying, *Jane Brooks*, *Alice Coward*, twelve times in near a quarter of an hour. At the same time some held a Candle before the Boys Face, and earnestly looked on him, but could not perceive the least motion of his Tongue, Teeth or Lips, while the Voice was heard.

On the 25. of *Feb.* between two and three in the Afternoon, the Boy being at the House of *Richard Isles* in *Shepton Mallet*, went out of the Room into the Garden, *Isles* his Wife followed him, and was within two Yards when she saw him rise up from the ground before her, and so mounted higher and higher, till he passed in the Air over the Garden-Wall, and was carried so above ground more than 30 Yards, falling at last at one *Jordan*'s Door at *Shepton*, where he was found as dead for a time. But coming to himself, told *Jordan*, that *Jane Brooks* had taken him up by the Arm out of *Isles* his Garden, and carried him in the Air, as is related.

The Boy at several other times was gone on the sudden, and upon search after him found in another Room as dead, and at sometimes strangely hanging above the ground; his Hands being flat against a great Beam in the top of the Room, and all his Body two or three foot from ground. There he hath hung a quarter of an hour together, and being afterwards come to himself, he told those that found him, that *Jane Brooks* had carried him to that place and held him there. Nine People at a time saw the Boy so strangely hanging by the Beam.

From the 15. of *Nov.* to the 10. of *March* following, he was by reason of his Fits much wasted in his body and unspirited, but after that time, being the day the two Women were sent to Gaol, he had no more of those Fits.

Jane Brooks was Condemned and Executed at *Charde* Assizes, *March* 26. 1658.

This is the sum of Mr. *Hunts* Narrative, which concludes with both the Justices attestation, thus:

The aforesaid passages were some of them seen by us: and the rest, and some other remarkable ones, not here set down, were upon the Examination of several credible Witnesses taken upon Oath before us.

Subscribed,

Rob. Hunt, *John Cary*.

This I think is good evidence of the being of Witches; if the *Sadducee* be not satisfied with it, I would fain know what kind of Proof he would expect. Here are the Testimonies of sense, the Oaths of several credible Attesters, the nice and deliberate scrutiny of quick-sighted and judicious Examiners, and the judgment of an Assize upon the whole. And now the security of all our Lives and Fortunes depends upon no greater circumstances of evidence than these. If such proof may not be credited, no Fact can be proved, no wickedness can be punished, no right can be determined, Law is at an end, and blind Justice cannot tell how to decide any thing.

Advertisement.

THE most fit Advertisement here is Mr. Glanvil's *Transition to fresh Evidences, out of Mr.* Hunt's *Examinations, which is this. Thus far,* saith he, *the Evidence of Fact went in the former Editions, but having resolved upon this* Re-enforcement, *I writ again to my honoured Friend Mr.* Hunt, *knowing that he had more materials for my purpose, and such as would afford proof sufficient* to

to any modest doubter. In Answer he was pleased to send me his Book of Examinations of Witches, *which he kept by him fairly written. It contains the discovery of such an hellish Knot of them, and that discovery so clear and plain, that perhaps there hath not yet any thing appeared to us with stronger Evidence to confirm the belief of Witches. And had not his discoveries and endeavours met with great opposition and discouragements from some then in Authority, the whole Clan of those hellish Confederates in these parts had been justly exposed and punished. Out of that Book I have Collected some main instances, the clearness of which I think will be enough to overcome and silence any indifferent prejudice. But some are so setled and obdurate, that no proof in the World is sufficient to remove them. I begin with the Witchcrafts of* Elizabeth Style.

RELAT. III.

Which containeth the Witchcrafts of Elizabeth Style *of* Bayford, *Widow.*

THis *Elizabeth Style* of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset*, was accused by divers Persons of Credit upon Oath before Mr. *Hunt*, and particularly and largely confessed her guilt her self, which was found by the Jury at her Trial at *Taunton*. But she prevented Execution by dying in Gaol, a little before the expiring of the term her Confederate *Dæmon* had set for her enjoyment of Diabolical pleasures in this life. I have shortned the Examinations, and cast them into such an order, as I think fittest for the rendring the matter clear and intelligible.

1. Exam. RIch. *Hill* of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset*, Yeoman, being Examined upon Oath *Jan.* 23. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices for that County, concerning the bewitching

bewitching of his Daughter by *Eliz. Style*, declareth, That his Daughter *Eliz. Hill*, about the Age of 13. Years, hath been for about two Months laſt paſt taken with very ſtrange Fits which have held an hour, two, three, and more; and that in thoſe Fits the Child hath told her Father the Examinant and others, that one *Eliz. Style* of the ſame Pariſh appeared to her, and is the Perſon that Torments her. She alſo in her Fits uſually tells what Cloths *Eliz. Style* hath on at that time, which the Informant and others have ſeen and found true.

He ſaith further, that about a Fortnight before Chriſtmas laſt, he told *Style* that his Daughter ſpoke much of her in her Fits, and did believe that ſhe was bewitched by her. Whereupon *Francis White*, and *Walter*, and *Robert Thick* being preſent, willed her to complain to the Juſtice againſt him for accuſing of her. But ſhe having uſed ſeveral put-offs, ſaid ſhe would do worſe than fetch a Warrant. After which the Girl grew worſe than before, and at the end of a Fit ſhe tells the Examinant when ſhe ſhall have another, which happens accordingly, and affirms, that *Style* tells her when the next Fit ſhall come. He informs further, that *Munday* Night after *Chriſtmas-Day*, about Nine of the Clock, and four or five times ſince about the ſame hour of the Night, his Daughter hath been more Tormented than formerly, and that though held in a Chair by four or five People, ſometimes ſix, by the Arms, Legs, and Shoulders, ſhe would riſe out of her Chair, and raiſe her body about three or four foot high. And that after, in her Fits, ſhe would have holes made in her Hand-Wriſts, Face, Neck, and other parts of her body, which the Informant and others that ſaw them, conceived to be with Thorns. For they ſaw Thorns in her Fleſh, and ſome they hooked out. That upon the Childs pointing with her Finger from place to place, the Thorns and Holes immediately appeared to the Informant and others looking on. And as ſoon as the Child can ſpeak after the Fit, ſhe ſaith that

that Widow *Style* did prick her with Thorns in those several places, which was horrible Torment, and she seemed to the Informant and others standing by, to be in extream pain and torture. The Child hath been so tormented and pricked with Thorns four several Nights, at which times the Informant and many other People have seen the Flesh rise up in little *bunches* in which *Holes* did appear. The Pricking held about a quarter of an hour at a time during each of the four Fits, and the Informant hath seen the Child take out some of those Thorns.

The same *Rich. Hill* Examined *Jan.* 26. 1664. informs, that when he rode from the Justices House with a Warrant to bring *Style* before him, his Horse on a suddain sat down on his Breech, and he could not after ride him, but as soon as he attempted to get up, his Horse would sit down and paw with his Feet before. He saith further, that since *Style* was Examined before the Justice and made her Confession to him, she hath acknowledged to the Informant that she had hurt his Daughter, and that one *Anne Bishop*, and *Alice Duke*, did join in bewitching of her.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

2. Exam. WIlliam *Parsons* Rector of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset*, Examined the 26. of *Jan.* 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill*'s Daughter, saith, That on *Monday* Night after *Christmas-Day* then last past, he came into the Room when *Eliz. Hill* was in her Fit, many of his Parishioners being present and looking on. He there saw the Child held in a Chair by main force by the People, plunging far beyond the strength of nature, foaming and catching at her own Arms and Cloths with her Teeth. This Fit he conceives held about half an

an hour. After ſome time, ſhe pointed with her Finger to the left ſide of her Head, next to her left Arm, and then to her left Hand, *&c.* and where ſhe pointed he perceived a red ſpot to ariſe with a ſmall black in the midſt of it like a ſmall Thorn. She pointed alſo to her Toes one after another, and expreſt great ſenſe of Torment. This latter Fit he gueſſes continued about a quarter of an hour, during moſt or all of which time, her Stomach ſeemed to ſwell, and her Head where ſhe ſeemed to be prickt did ſo very much. She ſate foaming much of the time, and the next day after her Fit, ſhe ſhewed the Examinant the places where the Thorns were ſtuck in, and he ſaw the Thorns in thoſe places.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

Subſcribed,

William Parſons Rector of *Stoke Triſter.*

3. Exam. NIcholas Lambert of *Bayford*, in the County of *Somerſet*, Yeoman, Examined upon Oath before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; *Jan.* 30. 1664. concerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill*'s Daughter by *Elizabeth Style*, teſtifieth, That *Monday* after *Chriſtmas-Day* laſt, being with others in the Houſe of *Rich. Hill*, he ſaw his Daughter *Elizabeth* taken very ill, and in Fits that were ſo ſtrong, that ſix Men could not hold her down in a Chair in which ſhe was ſat, but that ſhe would raiſe the Chair up in ſpight of their utmoſt force. That in her Fits being not able to ſpeak, ſhe would wreſt her body as one in great Torment, and point with her Finger to her Neck, Head, Hand-Wriſts, Arms and Toes. And he, with the reſt looking on the places to which ſhe pointed, ſaw on the ſuddain little Red Spots ariſe with little black ones in the midſt, as if Thorns were ſtuck in them, but the Child then only pointed, without touching her Fleſh with her Finger.

Taken upon Oath before me, *Rob. Hunt.*

4. Exam.

4. Exam. RIchard *Vining* of *Stoke Trister*, Butcher, Examined *Jan.* 26. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning the bewitching of his Wife by *Eliz. Style*, saith, That about two or three days before S. *James*'s day three years since or thereabout, his late Wife *Agnes* fell out with *Eliz. Style*, and within two or three days after she was taken with a grievous Pricking in her Thigh, which Pain continued for a long time, till after some Physick taken from one *Hallet*, she was at some Ease for three or four weeks. About the *Christmas* after the mentioned S. *James*'s day, *Style* came to the Examinant's house, and gave *Agnes* his Wife two Apples, one of them a very fair red Apple, which *Style* desired her to eat, which she did, and in a few hours was taken ill and worse than ever she had been before. Upon this, the Examinant went to one M. *Compton*, who lived in the Parish of *Ditch Eate* (the same Person that shewed my Friend his Wife in a Glass, as I have related in the Story of Mr. *Mompesson*) for Physick for his Wife. *Compton* told him he could do her no good, for that she was hurt by a near Neighbour, who would come into his house, and up into the Chamber where his Wife was, but would go out again without speaking. After *Vining* came home, being in the Chamber with his Wife, *Style* came up to them, but went out again without saying a word. *Agnes* the Wife continued in great Pain till *Easter* Eve following, and then she dyed. Before her Death her Hip rotted, and one of her Eyes swelled out, she declared to him then and at several times before, that she believed *Eliz. Style* had bewitched her, and that she was the Cause of her Death.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

Whilst

Whilſt the Juſtice was examining *Style* at *Wincaunton*, (which is not above a Mile and a half from *Stoke Triſter)* upon the former Evidence againſt her, he obſerved that *Rich. Vining* looked very earneſtly upon him. Whereupon he askt *Vining* if he had any thing to ſay unto him. He anſwered that *Style* had bewitched his Wife, and told the Manner how, as is in his Depoſition related. The Woman *Style* upon this ſeemed appaled and concerned, and the Juſtice ſaying to her, You have been an old Sinner, *&c.* You deſerve little Mercy: ſhe replied, I have askt God Mercy for it. Mr. *Hunt* askt her, why then ſhe would continue in ſuch ill Courſes? ſhe ſaid the Devil tempted her: and then began to make ſome Confeſſion of his Actings with her. Upon this the Juſtice ſent her to the Conſtable's houſe at *Bayford*, which is in the Pariſh of *Stoke Triſter*, (the Conſtable was one Mr. *Gapper*) and the next Morning went thither himſelf, accompanied with two Perſons of Quality, Mr. *Bull*, and Mr. *Court*, now Juſtices of the Peace in this County.

Now before I proceed further in the Story I ſhall take notice that here are Three credible Witneſſes, ſwearing to the ſame Particulars, in that the Child *Elizabeth Hill* was ſome times in ſtrange Fits, in which her Strength was encreaſed beyond the Proportion of Nature, and the Force of divers Men; that then ſhe pointed to the Parts of her Body, where they ſaw red Spots ariſing, and black Specks in the midſt of them, that ſhe complained ſhe was prickt with Thorns, and two of them ſaw Thorns in the Places of which ſhe complained. Some of which Thorns, one ſwears that He and Others ſaw hooked out, and that the Girl her ſelf pulled out others; that in her Fits ſhe declared, *Style* appears to her (as *Jane Brooks* did to *Richard Jones*, in the former Relation) and tells her when ſhe ſhall have another Fit, which happens accordingly; that ſhe deſcribes the Cloths the Woman hath on exactly as they find. But notwithſtanding, all this ſhall be Melancholy

choly and Fancy; or Legerdemain, or natural Distemper, or any thing but Witchcraft; or the Fact shall be denied, and the three Witnesses perjured, though this Confidence against the Oaths of sober Men, tend to the Overthrow of all Testimony and History, and the rendring all Laws useless. I shall therefore proceed to further Proof, and such as will abundantly strengthen this. It is the Confession of *Style* her self.

I left Mr. *Hunt*, and the other two Gentlemen at the Constable's house, where *Style* was, upon Business of further Examination, where she enlarged upon the Confession she had before begun to make, and declared the whole Matter at that and two other times after in the Particularas that follow.

5. Exam. Elizabeth Styles her Confession of her Witchcrafts, *Jan* 26. and 30. and *Feb.* 7. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; She then confessed, that the Devil about Ten years since appeared to her in the Shape of a handsome Man, and after of a black Dog. That he promised her Money, and that she should live gallantly, and have the Pleasure of the World for twelve years, if she would with her Blood sign his Paper, which was to give her Soul to him, and observe his Laws, and that he might suck her Blood. This after Four Sollicitations, the Examinant promised him to do. Upon which he prickt the fourth Finger of her right hand, between the middle and upper Joynt (where the Sign at the Examination remained) and with a Drop or two of her Blood, she signed the Paper with an [*O.*] Upon this the Devil gave her Sixpence, and vanished with the Paper.

That since he hath appeared to her in the Shape of a *Man*, and did so on *Wednesday* seven-night past, but more usually he appears in the Likeness of a *Dog*, and *Cat*, and a *Fly* like a Millar, in which last he usually sucks in the Poll about four of the Clock in the Morning, and did so *Jan.* 27. and that it usually is Pain to her to be so suckt.

That

That when ſhe hath a deſire to do harm, ſhe calls the Spirit by the name of *Robin*, to whom when he appeareth, ſhe uſeth theſe words, *O Sathan, give me my purpoſe.* She then tells him what ſhe would have done. And that he ſhould ſo appear to her, was part of her Contract with him.

That about a Month ago he appearing, ſhe deſired him to torment one *Elizabeth Hill*, and to thruſt Thorns into her Fleſh, which he promiſed to do, and the next time he appeared, he told her he had done it.

That a little above a Month ſince this Examinant, *Alice Duke*, *Anne Biſhop* and *Mary Penny*, met about Nine of the Clock in the Night, in the Common near *Triſter* Gate, where they met a Man in black Cloths with a little Band, to whom they did Courteſie and due obſervance, and the Examinant verily believes that this was the Devil. At that time *Alice Duke* brought a Picture in Wax, which was for *Elizabeth Hill*. The Man in black took it in his Arms, anointed its Fore-head, and ſaid, *I baptize thee with this Oyl*, and uſed ſome other words. He was Godfather, and the Examinant and *Anne Biſhop* Godmothers. They called it *Elizabeth* or *Beſs*. Then the Man in Black, this Examinant, *Anne Biſhop*, and *Alice Duke* ſtuck Thorns into ſeveral places of the Neck, Hand-Wriſts, Fingers, and other parts of the ſaid Picture. After which they had Wine, Cakes and Roſt Meat (all brought by the Man in black) which they did eat and drink. They danced and were merry, were bodily there, and in their Cloths.

She further ſaith, that the ſame perſons met again, at or near the ſame place about a Month ſince, when *Anne Biſhop* brought a Picture in Wax, which was Baptized *John*, in like manner as the other was, the Man in black was Godfather, and *Alice-Duke*, and this Examinant Godmothers. As ſoon as it was Baptized, *Anne Biſhop* ſtuck two Thorns into the Arms of the Picture, which was for one *Robert Newman*'s Child of *Wincaunton*. After they had eaten, drank, danced, and made merry, they departed.

That

That ſhe with *Anne Biſhop*, and *Alice Duke*, met at another time in the Night, in a ground near *Marnhul*, where alſo met ſeveral other perſons. The Devil then alſo there in the former ſhape, Baptized a Picture by the name of *Anne* or *Rachel Hatcher*. The Picture one *Durnford*'s Wife brought, and ſtuck Thorns in it. Then they alſo made merry with Wine and Cakes, and ſo departed.

She ſaith, before they are carried to their meetings, they anoint their Foreheads, and Hand-Wriſts, with an Oyl the Spirit brings them (which ſmells raw) and then they are carried in a very ſhort time, uſing theſe words as they paſs, *Thout*, *tout a tout*, *tout*, *throughout and about*. And when they go off from their Meetings, they ſay, *Rentum Tormentum*.

That at their firſt meeting, the Man in black bids them welcome, and they all make low obeyſance to him, and he delivers ſome Wax Candles like little Torches, which they give back again at parting. When they anoint themſelves, they uſe a long form of words, and when they ſtick in Thorns into the Picture of any they would torment, they ſay, *A Pox on thee*, *I'le ſpite thee*.

That at every meeting before the Spirit vaniſheth away, he appoints the next meeting place and time, and at his departure there is a foul ſmell. At their meeting they have uſually Wine or good Beer, Cakes, Meat or the like. They eat and drink really when they meet in their Bodies, dance alſo and have Muſick. The Man in black ſits at the higher end, and *Anne Biſhop* uſually next him. He uſeth ſome words before meat, and none after, his Voice is audible, but very low.

That they are carried ſometimes in their Bodies and their Cloths, ſometimes without, and as the Examinant thinks their Bodies are ſometimes left behind. When only their Spirits are preſent, yet they know one another.

When they would bewitch Man, Woman or Child, they do it ſometimes by a *Picture* made in Wax, which

the Devil formally Baptizeth. Sometimes they have an *Apple*, *Dish*, *Spoon*, or other thing from their evil Spirit, which they give the party to whom they would do harm. Upon which they have power to hurt the person that eats or receives it. Sometimes they have power to do mischief by a touch or curse, by these they can mischief Cattle, and by cursing without touching; but neither without the Devils leave.

That she hath been at several general meetings in the night at High Common, and a Common near *Motcombe*, at a place near *Marnhull*, and at other places where have met *John Combes*, *John Vining*, *Richard Dickes*, *Thomas Boster* or *Bolster*, *Thomas Dunning*, *James Bush* a lame Man, *Rachel King*, *Richard Lannen*, a Woman called *Durnford*, *Alice Duke*, *Anne Bishop*, *Mary Penny* and *Christopher Ellen*, all which did obeysance to the Man in black, who was at every one of their meetings. Usually they have at them some Picture Baptized.

The Man in black, sometimes plays on a Pipe or Cittern, and the Company dance. At last the Devil vanisheth, and all are carried to their several homes in a short space. At their parting they say [*A Boy! merry meet, merry part.*]

That the reason why she caused *Elizabeth Hill* to be the more tormented was, because her Father had said, she was a Witch. That she has seen *Alice Duke*'s Familiar suck her, in the shape of a Cat, and *Anne Bishop* suck her in the shape of a Rat.

That she never heard the name of God or Jesus Christ mentioned at any of their meetings.

That *Anne Bishop*, about five years and a half since, did bring a Picture in Wax to their meeting, which was Baptized by the Man in black, and called *Peter*. It was for *Robert Newman*'s Child at *Wincaunton*.

That some two years ago, she gave two Apples to *Agnes Vining*, late Wife of *Richard Vining*, and that she had one of the Apples from the Devil, who then appeared

appeared to her and told, *That Apple would do* Vining's *Wife's business.*

Taken in the presence of several grave and Orthodox Divines before me

Robert Hunt.

6. Exam. WIlliam Parsons Rector of *Stoke Trister*, Examined *Feb.* 7. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning *Elizabeth Style's* Confession, saith, That he heard *Style* before the Justice of Peace, at the time of her Examination confess, as she hath done also to the Examinant several times since, that she was in Covenant with the Devil, that she had signed it with her Blood, that she had been with the Devil at several meetings in the night, that at one time of those meetings, there was brought a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil in the shape of a Man in blackish Cloths, did Baptize by the name of *Eliz. Hill*, that she did stick in one Thorn into the Hand-Wrists of the Picture, that *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into the same, and that *Anne Bishop* and *Mary Penny* were present at that meeting with the Devil.

Taken upon Oath before me

Robert Hunt.

Subscribed,

William Parsons Rector of *Stoke Trister.*

This Confession of *Styles* was free and unforced, without any torturing or watching, drawn from her by a gentle Examination, meeting with the Convictions of a guilty Conscience. She confesseth, that she desired the De[illegible] *Eliz. Hill*, by thrusting Thorns into h[illegible]mised, and said he had done

it.

it. That a Picture was Baptized for her the ſaid *Elizabeth*, and that ſhe, the Familiar, and *Alice Duke*, ſtuck Thorns into ſeveral places of the Neck, Hand-Wriſts, Fingers, and other parts thereof, which exactly agrees with the ſtrange effects related, concerning the torments the Child ſuffered; and this miſchief ſhe confeſſeth ſhe did, becauſe her Father ſaid ſhe was a Witch. She confeſſeth ſhe gave two Apples to *Vining*'s Wife, one of which ſhe had from the Devil, who ſaid it would do the buſineſs, which ſutes alſo with the Teſtimony of *Vining* concerning his Wife.

She confeſſeth further, That the Devil uſeth to ſuck her in the Poll, about four a Clock in the Morning, in the Form of a Fly like a Millar, concerning which, let us hear Teſtimony (the other particulars of her Confeſſion we ſhall conſider as occaſion offers.)

7. Exam. NIcholas Lambert Examined again *Jan.* 26. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; concerning what happened after *Style*'s Confeſſion, teſtifyeth, That *Eliz. Style* having been Examined before the Juſtice, made her Confeſſion, and committed to the Officer, the Juſtice required this Examinant, *William Thick* and *William Read* of *Bayford* to watch her, which they did; and this Informant ſitting near *Style* by the Fire, and reading in the *Practice of Piety*, about Three of the Clock in the Morning, there came from her Head a gliſtering bright Fly, about an Inch in length, which pitched at firſt in the Chimney, and then vaniſhed. In leſs than a quarter of an hour after, there appeared two Flies more of a leſs ſize, and another colour, which ſeemed to ſtrike at the Examinant's hand, in which he held his Book, but miſſed it, the one going over, the other under at the ſame time. He looking ſtedfaſtly then on *Style*, perceived her Countenance to change, and to become very black and gaſtly, the Fire alſo at the ſame time changing its colour; wh[illegible] Examinant, *Thick* and *Read* conceiv[illegible] was [illegible] then

them about her, looked to her Poll, and ſeeing her Hair ſhake very ſtrangely, took it up, and then a Fly like a great Millar flew out from the place, and pitched on the Table-board, and then vaniſhed away. Upon this the Examinant, and the other two perſons looking again in *Style*'s Poll, found it very red, and like raw Beef. The Examinant askt her what it was that went out of her Poll, ſhe ſaid it was a Butterfly, and askt them why they had not caught it. *Lambert* ſaid, they could not. I think ſo too, anſwered ſhe. A little while after, the Informant and the others looking again into her Poll, found the place to be of its former colour. The Examinant demanding again what the Fly was, ſhe confeſſed it was her Familiar, and that ſhe felt it tickle in her Poll, and that was the uſual time when her Familiar came to her.

Taken upon Oath before me

Robert Hunt.

8. Exam. ELiz. *Torwood* of *Bayford*, Examined *Feb.* 7. 1664. before *Robert Hunt*, Eſq; concerning the mark found about *Eliz. Style* after her Confeſſion, Depoſeth, That ſhe together with *Catherine White*, *Mary Day*, *Mary Bolſter*, and *Bridget Prankard*, did a little after *Chriſtmas* laſt, ſearch *Eliz. Style*, and that in her Poll they found a little riſing which felt hard like a Kernel of Beef, whereupon they ſuſpecting it to be an ill mark, thruſt a Pin into it, and having drawn it out, thruſt it in again the ſecond time, leaving it ſticking in the fleſh for ſome time, that the other Women might alſo ſee it. Notwithſtanding which, *Style* did neither at the firſt or ſecond time make the leaſt ſhew that ſhe felt any thing. But after, when the Conſtable told her he would thruſt in a Pin to the place, and made a ſhew as if he did, O Lord, ſaid ſhe, do you prick me, whenas no one then touched her.

The Examinant further ſaith, that *Style* hath ſince confeſſed to her, that her Familiar did uſe to ſuck her in the place mentioned, in the ſhape of a great Millar, or Butterfly.

Catherine White, *Mary Day*, *Mary Bolſter*, and *Bridget Prankard*, do ſay, that the aboveſaid Examination of *Eliz. Torwood* is truth.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

RELAT. IV.

Which is the Examination and Confeſſion of Alice Duke, *alias* Manning (*another Witch of* Style'*s Knot*) *of* Wincaunton, *in the County of* Somerſet, *Widow*, *taken* Jan. 27. *and* Feb. 2, 7, 10, 21. An. 1664. *before* Robert Hunt *Eſq*;.

THE Examinant ſaith, That when ſhe lived with *Anne Biſhop* of *Wincaunton*, about Eleven or Twelve years ago, *Anne Biſhop* perſwaded her to go with her into the Church-yard in the Night-time, and being come thither, to go backward round the Church, which they did three times. In their firſt round, they met a Man in black Cloths, who went round the ſecond time with them, and then they met a thing in the ſhape of a great black Toad, which leapt up againſt the Examinant's Apron. In their third round they met ſomewhat in the ſhape of a Rat, which vaniſhed away. After this the Examinant and *Anne Biſhop* went home, but before *Anne Biſhop* went off, the Man in black ſaid ſomewhat to her ſoftly, which the Informant could not hear.

A few days after, *Ann Biſhop* ſpeaking about their going round the Church, told the Examinant, that now ſhe might have her Deſire, and what ſhe would wiſh

wiſh for. And ſhortly after, the Devil appeared to her in the ſhape of a Man, promiſing that ſhe ſhould want nothing, and that if ſhe curſed any thing with *A Pox take it*, ſhe ſhould have her Purpoſe, in caſe ſhe would give her Soul to him, ſuffer him to ſuck her Blood, keep his Secrets, and be his Inſtrument to do ſuch Miſchief as he would ſet her about. All which, upon his ſecond appearing to her, ſhe yielded to, and the Devil having prickt the fourth Finger of her right hand between the middle and upper Joynt (where the mark is yet to be ſeen) gave her a Pen, with which ſhe made a Croſs or Mark with her Blood on Paper or Parchment, that the Devil offered her for the Confirmation of the Agreement, which was done in the preſence of *Ann Biſhop*. And as ſoon as the Examinant had ſigned it, the Devil gave her Sixpence, and went away with the Paper or Parchment.

Further ſhe confeſſeth, That ſhe had been at ſeveral Meetings in *Lie* Common, and other Places in the Night, and that her Forehead being firſt anointed with a Feather dipt in Oyl, ſhe hath been ſuddenly carried to the Place of their Meeting. That about five or ſix Weeks ſince (or more) ſhe met in the ſaid Common in the Night, where were preſent *Ann Biſhop*, *Mary Penny* of *Wincaunton*, *Elizabeth Style* of *Bayford*, and a Man in black Cloaths with a little Band, whom ſhe ſuppoſeth to have been the Devil. At the meeting there was a Picture in Wax, which the Man in black took in his Arms, and having anointed its Forehead with a little greeniſh Oyl, and uſing a few Words, baptized it by the Name of *Elizabeth* or *Beſs Hill*, for the Daughter of *Richard Hill*. Then the Devil, this Examinant, *Ann Biſhop*, and *Elizabeth Style* ſtuck Thorns in the Neck, Head, Hand-wriſts, Fingers and other parts of the Picture, ſaying, *A Pox on thee, I'le ſpite thee*. This done, all ſate down, a white Cloath being ſpread on the Ground, and did drink Wine, and eat Cakes and Meat. After all was ended, the Man in

black vaniſhed, leaving an ugly Smell at parting. The reſt were on a ſudden conveyed to their Homes.

On *Monday* night after *Chriſtmas* day laſt, ſhe met the ſame Company again, near about the ſame Place, and then *Ann Biſhop* (who was there in a green Apron, a French Waſtcoat and a red Petticoat) brought in her Apron a Picture in blackiſh Wax, which the Devil baptized as before, by the Name of *John Newman*, for the ſon of *Rob. Newman* of *Wincaunton*, and then the Devil firſt, after *Ann Biſhop* and this Examinant thruſt in Thorns into the Picture, *Ann Biſhop* ſticking in two Thorns into the Arms of it. The Picture *Ann Biſhop* carried away with her. They were all there preſent in their Cloaths, and the Devil in the ſhape of a Man in black.

About five Years and a half ſince, the ſame Perſons were at the Baptizing of another Image, by the Name of *Peter Newman*, another Son of *Robert Newman*, both which are ſince dead, and then *Ann Biſhop* deſired the Examinant to joyn with her in the Bewitching of *Peter* and *John Newman*.

At another time ſhe was carried to a Meeting in the Night, to a green Place near *Marnhull* as ſhe was then told, where were preſent *Ann Biſhop*, *Eliz. Style*, *Mary Penny*, and ſome unknown to her. Then alſo an Image in Wax was baptized by the Devil, in the fore-related Manner, by the Name of *Ann* or *Rachel Hatcher* one of *Marnhull*, as ſhe was then informed. After the Ceremony was ended they had Wine, Cakes, *&c.*

She likewiſe confeſſeth, that ſhe was at another ſuch Meeting, where twelve Perſons were preſent, many of whom were unknown to her, but ſhe took notice of one lame Man in blackiſh Hair among them, and of the Devil as before.

She ſaith that after their Meetings, they all make very low Obeyſances to the *Devil*, who appears in black Cloaths and a little Band. He bids them welcome at their coming, and brings Wine or Beer, Cakes,

Cakes, Meat, or the like. He ſits at the higher End, and uſually *Ann Biſhop* ſits next him. They eat, drink, dance, and have Muſick. At their parting they uſe to ſay, *Merry meet merry part*, and that before they are carried to their Meetings, their Foreheads are anointed with greeniſh Oyl that they have from the Spirit which ſmells raw. They for the moſt part are carried in the Air. As they paſs, they ſay, *Thout, tout a tout, tout, throughout and about.* Paſſing back they ſay, *Rentum Tormentum*, and another word which ſhe doth not remember.

She confeſſeth that her Familiar doth commonly ſuck her right Breaſt about ſeven at night, in the ſhape of a little Cat of a dunniſh Colour, which is as ſmooth as a Want, and when ſhe is ſuckt, ſhe is in a kind of a Trance.

That ſhe hurt *Thomas Garret*'s Cows, becauſe he refuſed to write a Petition for her.

That ſhe hurt *Thomas Conway*, by putting a Diſh into his Hand, which Diſh ſhe had from the Devil, ſhe gave it him to give his Daughter for good hanſel.

That ſhe hurt *Dorothy* the Wife of *George Vining*, by giving an Iron ſlate to put into her ſteeling Box.

That being angry with *Edith Wats*, the Daughter of *Edmond Watts* for treading on her Foot, ſhe curſed *Edith* with a *Pox on you*, and after touched her, which hath done the ſaid *Edith* much harm, for which ſhe is ſorry.

That being provoked by *Swanton*'s firſt Wife, ſhe did before her Death curſe her with a *Pox on you*, believes ſhe did thereby hurt her, but denies ſhe did bewitch Mr. *Swanton*'s Cattle.

She ſaith, That when the Devil doth any thing for her, ſhe calls for him by the Name of *Robin*, upon which he appears, and when in the ſhape of a Man, ſhe can hear him ſpeak, but his Voice is very low. He promiſed her when ſhe made her Contract with him, that

that she should want nothing, but ever since she hath wanted all things.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

1. Exam. THomas *Conway* of *Wincaunton*, in the County of *Somerset*, Examined *Feb.* 12. 1664. before *Robert Hunt* Esquire, concerning *Alice Duke*, informeth, That about twelve Months since *Alice Duke* alias *Manning*, brought a little Pewter Dish to this informant, and told him it was good hansel for his Daughter. The Examinant willed the said *Alice* to carry it to her, she being within by the Fire, but she forced the Dish into his Hand and went away. Shortly after he was taken extreamly ill in all his Limbs. Of which Illness the Physicians, whom he applied himself to, could give no Account. When she went from him, she was very angry and muttered much, because he would not sign a Petition on her behalf: she hath confessed to him since that she had the Dish from the Devil, and gave it him on purpose to hurt him. He hath been, and is since in great Torment, and much weakened and wasted in his Body, which he imputes to the evil Practices of *Alice Duke*.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

2. Exam. MAry the Wife of *Tho. Conway*, Examined *March* 6. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; concerning *Alice Duke*, saith, That her Husband *Tho. Conway* about a year ago, delivered her a little Pewter Dish, telling her he had it from *Alice Duke* for good hansel for his Daughter, who had lately lain in. In this Dish she warmed a little Deer-sewet and Rose-water, anointing her Daughter's Nipple with it, which

which put her to extream Pain. Upon which ſuſpecting harm from the Diſh, ſhe put it into the Fire, which then preſently vaniſhed, and nothing of it could afterwards be found. After, when ſhe anointed her Daughter's Nipples with the ſame Deer-ſewet and Roſe-water, warmed in a Spoon, ſhe complained not of any Pain. She further ſaith, That her Husband after he had received the Diſh from the Hands of *Alice Duke*, was taken ill in all his Limbs, and held for a long time in a very ſtrange Manner.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

3. Exam. EDward Watts of *Wincaunton* in the County of *Somerſet*, Examined *Mar.* 6. 1664. before *Rob Hunt* Eſq; concerning *Alice Duke*, ſaith, That he hath a Child called *Edith*, about ten years of Age, who for the ſpace of half a year hath languiſhed and pined away, and that ſhe told him that treading one day on the Toe of *Alice Duke*, ſhe in great anger curſed her with *a Pox on thee*, and that from that time the Child began to be ill and to pine away, which ſhe hath done ever ſince.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

Advertiſement.

BEſides the plain Agreement betwixt the Witneſſes, and the Witches own Confeſſion, it may be worth the taking notice here, how well her Confeſſion of having her Familiar ſuck her in the ſhape of a Cat, agrees with

Eliz.

Eliz. Style's *Confession, that she had seen* Alice Duke's *Familiar suck her in that shape. As also how the bewitching of* Edward Watt's *Child by* Alice Duke, *her saying*, a Pox on her, *agrees with the promise of the Devil to her, which is expresly*, That if she cursed any thing with a Pox take it, she should have her purpose. *She also testifying of the Baptizing the Image of* Eliz. Hill, *and of those forms of words*, Thout, tout a tout, *and* Rentum Tormentum, *at their going to their meetings and departing, plainly shews, that these are not transacted in dreams but in reality. The Devil also, as in other stories, leaving an ill smell behind him, seems to imply the reality of the business, those ascititious particles he held together in his visible vehicle, being loosened at his vanishing, and so offending the nostrils by their floating and diffusing themselves in the open Air.*

RELAT. V.

Which is the Examination and Confession of Christian Green, *aged about thirty three years, Wife of* Robert Green *of* Brewham, *in the County of* Somerset, *taken before* Robert Hunt, *Esq; March* 2. 1664.

THis Examinant saith, That about a year and a half since (she being in great poverty) one *Catherine Green* of *Brewham*, told her, that if she would she might be in a better condition, and then perswaded her to make a Covenant with the Devil. Being afterwards together in one Mr. *Hussey*'s Ground in *Brewham* Forest, about Noon, *Catherine* called for the Devil, who appeared in the shape of a Man in blackish Cloths, and said somewhat to *Catherine* which *Christian* could not hear. After which the Devil (as she conceived him) told the Examinant, that she should want neither Cloths, Victual, nor Money, if she would give her Body and Soul to him, keep his Secrets, and suffer him to suck

her

her once in twenty four hours, which at laſt, upon his and *Catherine Green's* perſwaſion, ſhe yielded to; then the Man in black prickt the fourth Finger of her Right-hand, between the middle and upper Joints, where the ſign yet remains, and took two drops of her blood on his Finger, giving her four-pence-half-penny, with which ſhe after bought Bread in *Brewham.* Then he ſpake again in private with *Catherine* and vaniſhed, leaving a ſmell of Brimſtone behind.

Since that time the Devil (ſhe ſaith) hath and doth uſually ſuck her left Breaſt about five of the Clock in the Morning in the likeneſs of an *Hedg-hog*, bending, and did ſo on *Wedneſday* Morning laſt. She ſaith it is painful to her, and that ſhe is uſually in a trance when ſhe is ſuckt.

She ſaith alſo, that *Catharine Green*, and *Margaret Agar* of *Brewham*, have told her, that they are in Covenant with the Devil, and confeſſeth, that ſhe hath been at ſeveral meetings in the Night at *Brewham* Common, and in a Ground of Mr. *Huſſey's*, that ſhe hath there met with *Catharine Green* and *Margaret Agar*, and three or four times with *Mary Warberton* of *Brewham*; That in all thoſe meetings the Devil hath been preſent in the ſhape of a Man in black Cloths. At their firſt coming he bids them welcome, but always ſpeaks *very low.*

That at a Meeting about three Weeks or a Month ſince, at or near the former place, *Margaret Agar* brought thither an Image in Wax, for *Elizabeth* the Wife of *Andrew Corniſh* of *Brewham*, and the Devil in the ſhape of a Man in black Cloths did Baptize it, and after ſtuck a Thorn into its Head; that *Agar* ſtuck one into its Stomach, and *Catharine Green* one into its ſide. She further ſaith, that before this time, *Agar* ſaid to her this Examinant, that ſhe would hurt *Eliz. Corniſh*, who ſince the Baptizing of the Picture hath been taken and continues very ill.

She ſaith, that three or four days before *Joſ. Talbot* of

of *Brewham* died, *Margaret Agar* told her, that ſhe would rid him out of the World, becauſe he being Overſeer of the Poor, he made her Children go to Service, and refuſed to give them ſuch good Cloths as ſhe deſired. And ſince the Death of *Talbot*, ſhe confeſſed to the Examinant, that ſhe had bewitcht him to Death. He died about a year ſince, was taken ill on *Friday*, and died about *Wedneſday* after.

That her Mother-in-Law *Catharine Green*, about five or ſix years ago was taken in a ſtrange manner. One day one Eye and Cheek did ſwell, another day another, and ſo ſhe continued in great pain, till ſhe died. Upon her death ſhe ſeveral times ſaid, in the hearing of the Examinant, that her Siſter-in-Law *Catharine Green* had bewitched her, and the Examinant believes, that ſhe bewitcht her to Death.

That a little before *Michaelmas* laſt, the ſaid *Catharine* curſed the Horſes of *Rob. Walter* of *Brewham*, ſaying, A Murrain on them Horſes to Death. Upon which the Horſes being three, all died.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

RELAT. VI.

Containing further Teſtimonies of the villainous feats of that rampant Hagg Margaret Agar *of* Brewham, *in the County of* Somerſet.

1. Exam. ELizabeth *Talbot* of *Brewham*, Examined *March* 7. 1664. before *Robert Hunt*, Eſq; ſaith, That about three Weeks before her Father *Joſ. Talbot* died, *Margaret Agars* fell out with him, becauſe he being Overſeer for the Poor, did require *Agars* Daughter to go to Service, and ſaid to him, that he was proud of

of his living, but swore by the Blood of the Lord, that he should not long enjoy it. Within three Weeks of which he was suddenly taken in his Body as if he had been stabb'd with Daggers, and so continued four or five days in great pain, and then died.

Rob. Hunt.

2. Exam. JOS. *Smith* of *Brewham*, Husbandman, Examined *March* 15. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; saith, That some few days before *Jos. Talbot* died, he heard *Margaret Agar* rail very much at him, because he had caused her Daughter to go to Service, and said, that he should not keep his living, but be drawn out upon four Mens shoulders. That she should tread upon his Jaws, and see the grass over his head, which she swore by the Blood of the Lord.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

3. Exam. MAry the Wife of *William Smith* of *Brewham*, Examined *March* 8. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; saith, That about two years since *Margaret Agar* came to her and called her Whore, adding, *A Plague take you for an old Whore*, I shall live to see thee rot on the Earth before I die, and thy Cows shall fall and die at my feet. A short time after which, she had three Cows that died very strangely, and two of them at the door of *Margaret Agar*. And ever since the Examinant hath consumed and pined away, her Body and her Bowels rotting, and she verily believes, that her Cattle and her self were bewitcht by *Agar*.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

4. Exam.

4. Exam. CAtharine Green alias *Cornish* of *Brewham*, Widow, Examined *May* 16. 1665. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; saith, That on *Friday* in the Evening, in the beginning of *March* last, *Margaret Agar* came to her, and was earnest she should go with her to a Ground called *Husseys-knap*, which she did, and being come thither they saw a little Man in black Cloths, with a little Band. As soon as they came to him, *Margaret Agar* took out of her Lap a little Picture in blackish Wax, which she delivered to the Man in black, who stuck a Thorn into the Crown of the Picture, and then delivered it back to *Agar*. Upon which she stuck a Thorn towards the heart of the Picture, cursing, and saying, *A Plague on you*; which she told the Examinant was done to hurt *Eliz. Cornish*, who as she hath been told, hath been very ill ever since that time.

That a little above a year since *Jos. Talbot*, late of *Brewham*, being Overseer for the Poor, did cause two of *Agar*'s Children to go to Service. Upon which she was very angry, and said in the Examinant's hearing, a few days before he fell sick and died, that she had trod upon the Jaws of three of her Enemies, and that she should shortly see *Talbot* rot and tread on his Jaws. And when this Examinant desired her not to hurt *Talbot*, she swore by the Blood of the Lord, she would confound him if she could. The day before he died, she said to the Examinant, Gods wounds, I'll go and see him, for I shall never see him more; and the next day *Talbot* died.

That she heard *Margaret Agar* curse *Mary Smith*, and say, she should live to see her and her Cattle fall and rot before her face.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

5. Exam.

5. Exam. MAry Green of *Brewham*, ſingle Woman, Examined *June* 3. 1665. before *Rob. Hunt*, Eſq; ſaith, That about a Month before *Joſ. Talbot* late of *Brewham* died, *Margaret Agar* fell out with him about the putting out of her Child to Service. After that ſhe ſaw a Picture in Clay or Wax in the hands of *Agar*, which ſhe ſaid was for *Talbot*, the Picture ſhe ſaw her deliver in *Redmore*, to the Fiend in the ſhape of a Man in black, about an hour in the Night, who ſtuck a Thorn in or near the Heart of it; *Agar* ſtuck another in the Breaſt, and *Catharine Green*, *Alice Green*, *Mary Warberton*, *Henry Walter*, and *Chriſtian Green*, all of *Brewham*, were then and there preſent, and did all ſtick Thorns into the Picture.

At that time *Catherine Green* ſpake to *Agar* not to hurt *Talbot*, becauſe ſhe received ſomewhat from him often times, but *Agar* replied, by the Lord's Blood ſhe would confound him, or words to that Purpoſe.

That a little before *Talbot* was taken ſick, *Agar* being in the Houſe where the Examinant lived, ſwore that ſhe ſhould ere long tread upon his Jaws. And that if *Talbot* made her Daughter to go to Service for a year, yet if ſhe came home in a quarter it would be time enough to ſee him carried out upon four Mens ſhoulders, and to tread upon his Jaws.

That on the day *Talbot* dyed, ſhe heard *Agar* ſwear that ſhe had now plagued *Talbot*; and that being in Company with her ſome time before, and ſeeing a dead Horſe of *Talbot*'s drawn along by another of his Horſes, ſhe ſwore that that Horſe ſhould be alſo drawn out to morrow, and the next day ſhe ſaw the well Horſe alſo drawn out dead.

That above a Month before *Margaret Agar* was ſent to Gaol, ſhe ſaw her, *Henry Walter*, *Catherine Green*, *Joan Syms*, *Chriſtian Green*, *Mary Warberton*, and others, meet at a place called *Huſſey*'s-*knap* in the Foreſt in the Night time, where met them the Fiend in the

ſhape of a little Man in black Cloths, with a little Band, to him all made obeyſances, and at that time a Picture in Wax or Clay was delivered by *Agar* to the Man in black, who ſtuck a Thorn into the Crown of it, *Margaret Agar* one towards the Breaſt, *Catharine Green* in the ſide; after which *Agar* threw down the Picture, and ſaid, there is *Corniſh*'s Picture with a Murrain to it, or Plague on it. And that at both the meetings there was a noiſom ſmell of Brimſtone.

That about two years ſince in the Night there met in the ſame place *Agar*, *Henry Walter*, *Catharine Green*, *Joan Syms*, *Alice Green*, and *Mary Warberton*. Then alſo *Margaret Agar* delivered to the little Man in black a Picture in Wax, into which he and *Agar* ſtuck Thorns, and *Henry Walter* thruſt his Thumb into the ſide of it. Then they threw it down and ſaid, there is *Dick Green*'s Picture with *a Pox in't*. A ſhort time after which *Richard Green* was taken ill and died.

Further, ſhe ſaith, That on *Thurſday* Night before Whitſunday laſt, about the ſame place met *Catharine Green*, *Alice Green*, *Joan Syms*, *Mary Warberton*, *Dinah*, and *Dorothy Warberton*, and *Henry Walter*, and being met they called out *Robin*. Upon which inſtantly appeared a little Man in black Cloths, to whom all made obeyſance, and the little Man put his hand to his Hat, ſaying, How do ye? ſpeaking *low* but *big*. Then all made low obeyſances to him again. That ſhe hath ſeen *Margaret Clark* twice at the meetings, but ſince *Margaret Agar* was ſent to Priſon ſhe never ſaw her there.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

Adver-

Advertisement.

B*Efore we pass to other* Relations, *it will not be amiss further to remark upon these taken out of the Examinations of Mr.* Hunt: *From the poisoned Apples that* Jane Brooks *gave to* Rich. Jones, *and* Eliz. Style *to* Agnes Vining, *and the poisoned Pewter-Dish that* Alice Duke *put into the hands of* Tho. Conway, (*which Dish and Apples they had from the Devil*) *we may observe in what a peculiar sense Witches and Wizzards are called* φαρμακοὶ, Venefici *and* Veneficæ, Poysoners. *Not that they mischieve People ordinarily by natural Poisons, as Arsenick and the like, but rather by some hellish malignancy infused into things by the art and malice of the Devil, or by the steams of their own Body which the Devil sucks. For the hand of* Jane Brooks *stroaking down* Rich. Jones *his side impressed a pain thereon.*

We may observe also what an eximious Example of Moses *his* Mecasséphah (*the word which he uses in that Law,* Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live) Margaret Agar *is, and how unfitly some Interpreters render* Mecassephim, Malefici, *from the great mischief they do and delight in. And what a great credit this* Agar *is to* J. Webster *and the rest of the Hagg-advocates, which would make them to be meer couzening Queans, or melancholick Fopps, that had nothing to do with the Devil. As if the Man in black, and a little Band, were but such another as* J. Webster, *or any other Hagg-advocate, that in waggery acted the part of the Devil in* Hussey's *Knap, or any such like place of a Forest, and so after all, quickly and suddenly recoiling behind a bush, and letting fly into the wind, the deluded Haggs took it for the vanishing of the very Fiend, and his perfuming the Air with the smell of Brimstone. One that can resolve all the feats of the* Hartummim *of* Egypt *into tricks of Legerdemain, cannot he easily delude the Company with such a feat as this, the old Wives being thick of hearing,*

 and

and carrying their Spectacles not on their noses, but in their pockets?

And lastly from the Devils covenanting with the Witches for their Souls, it may be observed, that the old Haggs dealing bonâ fide, *and thinking they have Souls surviving their Bodies, are better Philosophers than the huffy Wits of our Age that deny distinction of Soul and Body. But if they have not (as these Huffers would have it) and the Haggs think so themselves, it is a pretty Paradox that these old Fopps should be able to out-wit the very Devil; who does not in bartering for their Bodies and Souls buy a Pig-in-a-poke, as the Proverb is, but a poke without a Pig. But I rather believe, that these huffing Wits, as high as they are, may learn one true point of Philosophy from these Haggs and their Familiars; these evil Spirits certainly making their Bargains wisely enough in covenanting for the Witches Soul. Which clause, if it were not exprest, the Soul were free from the Familiars jurisdiction after death. Wherefore it is no contemptible argument these evil Spirits covenanting for the* Soul *of the Witch, that they know the Soul survives the Body, and therefore make their Bargain sure for the possession of it as their* Peculium *after death. Otherwise, if the Soul were mortal they would tell the Witches so, the more easily to precipitate them into all wickedness, and make them more eager by their ministry to enjoy this present life. But this Doctrine is inconsistent with the form of his Covenant, whereby they are assured to him after death.*

RELAT. VII.

Touching Florence Newton *an Irish Witch of* Youghal, *taken out of her Tryal at the Assizes held for the County of* Corke, *Septemb.* 11. *Ann.* 1661.

THis *Florence Newton* was committed to *Youghall* Prison, by the Mayor of the Town, *March* 24. 1661. for bewitching *Mary Longdon*, who gave Evidence against

against her at *Cork* Assizes, as follows. *Mary Longdon* being sworn and examined what she could say against the said *Florence Newton* for any practice of Witchcraft upon her self, and being bidden to look on the Prisoner, her Countenance changed pale, and she was very fearful to look towards her, but at last she did. And being askt whether she knew her, she said she did, and wisht she never had. Being askt how long she had known her, she said for three or four years. And that at *Christmas* last the said *Florence* came to the Deponent, at the House of *John Pyne* in *Youghall*, where the Deponent was a Servant; and askt the Deponent to give her a piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent answering her, that she could not give away her Master's Beef, she said *Florence* seemed to be very angry, and said, thou hadst as good have given it me, and so went away grumbling.

That about a Week after, the Deponent being going to the Water with a Pail of Cloth on her head, she met her the said *Florence Newton*, who came full in her Face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kist her, and said, *Mary*, I pray thee, let thee and I be Friends, for I bear thee no ill will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none. And that she the Deponent went afterwards home, and that within a few days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her Face, stand by her Bed-side, and one standing by her like a little old Man in silk Cloths, and that this Man which she took to be a Spirit, drew the Vail from off the Womans Face, and then she knew it to be Goody *Newton*, and that the Spirit spake to the Deponent, and would have had her promise him to follow his advice, and she should have all things after her own heart, to which she says she answered, That she would have nothing to say to him, for her trust was in the Lord.

That within a Month after the said *Florence* had kist her, she this Deponent fell very ill of Fits or Trances, which would take her on the sudden, in that violence,

 that

that three or four Men could not hold her. And in her Fits ſhe would often be taken with Vomitings, and would Vomit up Needles, Pins, Horſe-nails, Stubbs, Wooll, and Straw, and that very often. And being asked whether ſhe perceived at theſe times what ſhe Vomited? ſhe ſaid ſhe did. For then ſhe was not in ſo great diſtraction as in other parts of her Fits ſhe was. And that a little before the firſt beginning of her Fits, ſeveral (and very many) ſmall ſtones would fall upon her as ſhe went up and down, and would follow her from place to place, and from one room to another, and would hit her on the head, ſhoulders, and arms, and fall to the ground and vaniſh away. And that ſhe and ſeveral others would ſee them both fall upon her, and on the ground, but could never take them, ſave only ſome few, which ſhe and her Maſter caught in their hands. Amongſt which one that had a hole in it ſhe tied (as ſhe was adviſed) with a Leather thong to her Purſe, but it was vaniſht immediately, though the Leather continued tied on a faſt Knot.

That in her Fits ſhe often ſaw this *Florence Newton*, and cryed out againſt her for tormenting of her, for ſhe ſays, that ſhe would ſeveral times ſtick Pins into her Arms, and ſome of them ſo faſt, that a Man muſt pluck three or four times to get out the Pin, and they were ſtuck betwixt the skin and the fleſh. That ſometimes ſhe ſhould be removed out of her Bed into another room, ſometimes ſhe ſhould be carried to the top of the Houſe laid on a Board betwixt two Sollar Beams, ſometimes put into a Cheſt, ſometimes under a parcel of Wooll, ſometimes betwixt two Feather-beds on which ſhe uſed to lie, and ſometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Maſters Chamber in the day time. And being asked how ſhe knew ſhe was thus carried about and diſpoſed of, ſeeing in her Fits ſhe was in a violent diſtraction? ſhe anſwered, ſhe never knew where ſhe was, till they of the Family, and the Neighbours with them, would be taking her out of the places whither ſhe was ſo carried

and

and removed. And being asked the reaſon wherefore ſhe cryed out ſo much againſt the ſaid *Florence Newton* in her Fits? ſhe anſwered, becauſe ſhe ſaw her and felt her torturing.

And being asked how ſhe could think it was *Florence Newton* that did her this prejudice? ſhe ſaid, firſt becauſe ſhe threatned her, then becauſe after ſhe had kiſt her ſhe fell into theſe Fits, and that ſhe both ſaw and felt her tormenting. And laſtly, that when the People of the Family, by advice of the Neighbours, and conſent of the Mayor, had ſent for *Florence Newton* to come to the Deponent, ſhe was always worſe when ſhe was brought unto her, and her Fits more violent than at another time. And that after the ſaid *Florence* was committed at *Youghall*, the Deponent was not troubled, but was very well till a little while after the ſaid *Florence* was removed to *Corke*, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Mayor of *Youghall*, one Mr. *Mayre*, then ſent to know whether the ſaid *Florence* were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding ſhe was not, order was given to put her Bolts on her; which being done, the Deponent ſaith ſhe was well again, and ſo hath continued ever ſince. And being asked whether ſhe had ſuch like Fits before the ſaid *Florence* gave her the kiſs, ſhe ſaith ſhe never had any, but believes that with that kiſs ſhe bewitcht her, and the rather becauſe ſhe hath heard from *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, that the ſaid *Florence* had confeſſed as much.

This *Mary Longdon* having cloſed up her Evidence, *Florence Newton* peep'd at her as it were betwixt the heads of the By-ſtanders that interpoſed betwixt her and the ſaid *Mary*, and lifting up both her hands together, as they were manacled, caſt them in an angry violent kind of motion (as was ſeen and obſerved by *W. Aſton*) towards the ſaid *Mary*, as if ſhe intended to ſtrike at her if ſhe could have reacht her, and ſaid, Now ſhe is down. Upon which the Maid fell ſuddenly down to the ground like a ſtone, and fell into a moſt violent fit, that all the

People that could come to lay hands on her could ſcarce hold her, ſhe biting her own Arms, and ſhreeking out in a moſt hideous manner, to the amazement of all the Beholders. And continuing ſo for about a quarter of an hour (the ſaid *Florence Newton* ſitting by her ſelf all that while pinching her own Hands and Arms, as was ſworn by ſome that obſerved her) the Maid was ordered to be carried out of Court and taken into a Houſe. Whence ſeveral Perſons after that, brought word, that the Maid was in a Vomiting Fit, and they brought in ſeveral crooked Pins, and Straws, and Wooll, in white foam like ſpittle in great proportions. Whereupon the Court having taken notice that the Maid had ſaid ſhe had been very well when the ſaid *Florence* was in Bolts, and ill again when out of them, till they were again put on her, demanded of the Gaoler if ſhe were in Bolts or no, to which he ſaid ſhe was not, but onely manacled. Upon which order was given to put on her Bolts, and upon putting them on, ſhe cryed out, ſhe was killed, ſhe was undone, ſhe was ſpoiled, why do you torment me thus? and ſo continued complaining grievouſly for half a quarter of an hour. And then came in a Meſſenger from the Maid, and informed the Court the Maid was well. At which *Florence* immediately and cholerickly uttered theſe words, *She is not well yet*. And being demanded how ſhe knew ſhe was not well yet? ſhe denied ſhe ſaid ſo, though many in Court heard her ſay the words, and ſhe ſaid, if ſhe did, ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid, being old and diſquieted, and diſtracted with her ſufferings. But the Maid being reaſonably well come to her ſelf, was, before the Court knew any thing of it, ſent out of Town to *Youghall*, and ſo was no further Examined by the Court.

The Fit of the Maid being urged by the Court with all the Circumſtances of it upon *Florence*, to have been a continuance of her Deviliſh practice, ſhe denied it, and likewiſe the motion of her hands, or the ſaying, *Now ſhe is down*, though the Court ſaw the firſt, and the words

words were ſworn by one *Roger Moor*. And *Thomas Harriſon* ſwore, that he had obſerved the ſaid *Florence* peep at her, and uſe that motion with her hands, and ſaw the Maid fall immediately upon that motion, and heard the words, *Now ſhe is down*, uttered.

Nicholas Stout was next produced by Mr. Attorney-General, who being ſworn and Examined, ſaid, That he had oft tried her, having heard ſay that Witches could not ſay the Lord's Prayer, whether ſhe could ſay that Prayer or no, and found ſhe could not. Whereupon ſhe ſaid ſhe could ſay it, and had oft ſaid it. And the Court being deſired by her to hear her ſay it, gave her leave. And four times together after theſe words [give us this day our daily Bread] ſhe continually ſaid, *as we forgive them*, leaving always out the words [and forgive us our treſpaſſes] upon which the Court appointed one near her to teach her theſe words ſhe ſo left out. But ſhe either could not, or would not ſay them, uſing only theſe or the like words when theſe were repeated, *Ay, Ay, treſpaſſes*, that's the words. And being oft preſſed to utter the words as they were repeated to her, ſhe did not. And being asked the reaſon, ſhe ſaid ſhe was old and had a bad memory; and being asked how her memory ſerved her ſo well for other parts of the Prayer, and only fail her for that, ſhe ſaid ſhe knew not, neither could ſhe help it.

John Pyne being likewiſe ſworn and Examined, ſaid, that about *January* laſt the ſaid *Mary Longdon* being his Servant, was much troubled with little Stones that were thrown at her wherever ſhe went, and that he hath ſeen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropped on her, and that he hath ſeen very great quantities of them, and that they would, after they had hit her, fall on the ground, and then vaniſh, ſo that none of them could be found. And further that the Maid once caught one of them, and he himſelf another, and one of them with a hole in it, ſhe tyed to her Purſe, but it vaniſhed in a little time, but the knot of the Leather that tied it remained unaltered. That after the

ſtones

ſtones had thus haunted her, ſhe fell into moſt grievous Fits, wherein ſhe was ſo violently diſtracted, that four Men would have very much ado to hold her, and that in the higheſt extremity of her Fits, ſhe would cry out againſt Gammer *Newton* for hurting and tormenting of her. That ſometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on a ſudden he hath ſeen the Bible ſtruck out of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and ſhe immediately caſt into a violent Fit. That in the Fits he hath ſeen two Bibles laid on her Breaſt, and in the twinkling of an Eye they would be caſt betwixt the two Beds the Maid lay upon, ſometimes thrown into the middle of the Room, and that *Nicholas Pyne* held the Bible in the Maids hand ſo faſt, that it being ſuddenly ſnatcht away, two of the leaves were torn. That in many other Fits the Maid was removed ſtrangely, in the twinkling of an Eye, out of the Bed, ſometimes into the bottom of a Cheſt with Linnen, under all the Linnen, and the Linnen not at all diſordered, ſometimes betwixt the two Beds ſhe lay on, ſometimes under a parcel of Wooll, ſometimes betwixt his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room; and once ſhe was laid on a ſmall deal Board, which lay on the top of the Houſe betwixt two SollarBeams, where he was forced to rear upLadders to have her fetcht down. That in her Fits ſhe hath often Vomited up Wooll, Pins, Horſe-nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles, and Moſs, with a kind of white Foam or Spittle, and hath had ſeveral Pins ſtuck into her Arms and Hands, that ſometimes a Man muſt pull three or four times before he could pull one of them out; and ſome have been ſtuck between the fleſh and the skin, where they might be perfectly ſeen, but not taken out, nor any place ſeen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room, where ſhe was, ſhe would be in more violent and longer laſting Fits than at other times. That all the time the Witch was at liberty, the Maid was ill, and as ſoon as ſhe was committed and bolted, ſhe recovered and was well, and that when the

the Witch was removed to *Corke*, the Maid fell ill. And thereupon the Mayor of *Youghall* ſent to ſee if ſhe were bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill, and deſire them, if the Witch were not bolted, they would bolt her. That ſhe immediately mended and was as well as ever ſhe was: and when the Meſſenger came from *Corke*, and to'd them when the Witch was bolted, it fell out to be the very time the Maid amended at *Youghall*.

Nicholas Pyne being ſworn, ſaith, That the ſecond night after that the Witch was in Priſon, being the 24 of *March* laſt, he and *Joſeph Thompſon*, *Roger Hawkins*, and ſome others, went to ſpeak with her concerning the Maid, and told her, that it was the general Opinion of the Town, that ſhe had bewitched her, and deſired her to deal freely with them, whether ſhe had bewitched her or no. She ſaid ſhe had not *bewitched* her, but it may be ſhe had *over-looked* her, and that there was a great difference betwixt *bewitching* and *over-looking*, and that ſhe could not have done her any harm if ſhe had not toucht her, and that therefore ſhe had kiſt her. And ſhe ſaid, that what miſchief ſhe thought of at that time ſhe kiſt her, that would fall upon her, and that ſhe would not but confeſs ſhe had wronged the Maid, and thereupon fell down upon her Knees, and prayed God to forgive her for wronging the poor Wench. They wiſht that ſhe might not be wholly deſtroyed by her; to which ſhe ſaid it muſt be another that muſt help her, and not they that did the harm. And then ſhe ſaid, there were others, as Goody *Half-penny*, and Goody *Dod* in Town, that could do theſe things as well as ſhe, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid wrong.

That towards Evening, the Door of the Priſon ſhook, and ſhe aroſe up haſtily and ſaid, What makeſt thou here this time a night? and there was a very great noiſe, as if ſome Body with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room, and they asked her what it was ſhe ſpoke to, and what it was made the noiſe; and ſhe

ſhe ſaid ſhe ſaw nothing, neither did ſhe ſpeak, and if ſhe did, it was ſhe knew not what. But the next day ſhe confeſt it was a *Spirit*, and her *Familiar* in the ſhape of a Grey-hound.

He ſaith further, That he and Mr. *Edward Perry*, and others, for Trial of her took a Tyle off the Priſon, next to the place where the Witch lay, and carried it to the Houſe where the Maid lived, and put it into the fire till it was red-hot, and then dropped ſome of the Maid's Water upon it, and the Witch was then grievouſly tormented, and when the Water was conſumed ſhe was well again.

And as to the ſtones falling on and caſt at the Maid, as to the Maid's Fits, her removal into the Cheſt under the Wooll, betwixt the Fether-Beds, on the top of the deal Board, betwixt two Sollar Beams, concerning the Bibles and their remove, his holding one of them in the Maids hands till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maids Vomiting, and calling out againſt the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with *John Pyne* as before.

Edward Perry being likewiſe ſworn, depoſeth, That he, Mr. *Greatrix*, and Mr. *Blackwall*, went to the Maid, and Mr. *Geatrix* and he had read of a way to diſcover a Witch, which he would put in practice. And ſo they ſent for the Witch, and ſet her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker with a ſtrong Awl endeavoured to ſtick it in the Stool, but could not till the third time. And then they bad her come off the Stool, but ſhe ſaid ſhe was very weary and could not ſtir. Then two of them pulled her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropt into his hand with half an Inch broke off the blade of it, and they all looked to have found where it had been ſtuck, but could find no place where any entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl, and put it into the Maid's hand, and one of them took the Maid's hand, and ran violently at the Witches hand with it, but cou'd not enter it, though the Awl was ſo bent that none of them could put it ſtreight again. Then Mr.

Blackwal

Blackwall took a Launce and launc'd one of her hands an Inch and a half long, and a quarter of an Inch deep, but it bled not at all. Then he launc'd the other hand, and then they bled.

He further ſaith, That after ſhe was in Priſon, he went with *Roger Hawkins* and others to diſcourſe with the Witch about the Maid, and they askt what it was ſhe ſpake to the day before, and after ſome denial, ſhe ſaid it was a Greyhound which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window; and then ſhe ſaid, If I have done the Maid hurt, I am ſorry for it. And being then asked whether ſhe had done her any hurt, ſhe ſaid ſhe never did *bewitch* her, but confeſſed ſhe had *over-looked* her that time ſhe kiſt her, but that ſhe could not now help her, for none could help that did the miſchief, but others. And further the Deponent ſaith, That after at the Aſſize at *Caſhal*, he meeting with one *William Lap*, and diſcourſing about theſe paſſages with him, the ſaid *Lap* told the Deponent, that if he would but take a Tyle off the Houſe, near the place where the Witch lay, and heat it red hot in the Fire, and then take ſome of the Maids Water and drop upon it, that ſo long as this was doing, he ſhould find the Witch moſt grievouſly tormented: That afterward he, *Edward Perry*, *Nicholas Pyne* and others, put this in practice, and found, that the Witch was extreamly tormented and vexed, and when the experiment was over, ſhe came to her ſelf, and then they askt her how ſhe came to hurt the Maid? and ſhe ſaid, that what evil ſhe thought againſt the Maid that time ſhe kiſt her, that would fall upon her, and that ſhe could not have hurt her except ſhe had toucht her, and then ſhe fell on her Knees, and confeſſed ſhe had wronged the Maid, and deſired God to forgive her. And then they put her upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, but ſhe could not ſay the words, *and forgive us our treſpaſſes.*

Mr. *Wood*, a Miniſter, being likewiſe ſworn, and Examined, depoſeth, That having heard of the Stones dropt

dropt and thrown at the Maid, and of her Fits, and meeting with the Maids Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her Fit, crying out against Gammer *Newton*, that ſhe prickt her and hurt her. And when ſhe came to her ſelf, he asked her what had troubled her, and ſhe ſaid Gammer *Newton*. And the Deponent ſaid, why, ſhe was not there. Yes, ſaid ſhe, I ſaw her by my Bed-ſide. The Deponent then askt her the original of all, which ſhe related from the time of her begging the Beef, and after Kiſſing, and ſo to that time. That then they cauſed the Maid to be got up, and ſent for *Florence Newton*, but ſhe refuſed to come, pretending ſhe was ſick, though indeed it appeared ſhe was well. Then the Mayor of *Youghall* came in and ſpoke with the Maid, and then ſent again, and cauſed *Florence Newton* to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her Fit far more violent, and three times as long as at any other time, and all the time the Witch was in the Chamber, the Maid cried out continually of being hurt here and there, but never named the Witch; but as ſoon as ſhe was removed, then ſhe cried out againſt her by the name of Gammer *Newton*, and this for ſeveral times. And ſtill when the Witch was out of the Chamber, the Maid would deſire to go to Prayers, and he found good affections in her in time of Prayer, but when the Witch was brought in again, though never ſo privately, although ſhe could not poſſibly, as the Deponent conceives, ſee her, ſhe would be immediately ſenſleſs and like to be ſtrangled, and ſo would continue till the Witch were taken out, and then though never ſo privately carried away, ſhe would come again to her ſenſes. That afterwards Mr. *Greatrix*, Mr. *Blackwall*, and ſome others, who would needs ſatisfie themſelves in the influence of the Witches preſence, tried it and found it ſeveral times. Although he did it with all poſſible privacy, and ſo as none could think it poſſible for the Maid to know either of the Witches coming in or going out.

Richard

Richard Mayre Mayor of *Youghall*, being likewise sworn, saith, That about the 24th of *March* last, he sent for *Florence Newton*, and Examined her about the Maid, and she at first denied it, and accused Goodwife *Halfpenny*, and Goodwife *Dod*, but at length when he had caused a Boat to be provided, and had thought to have tried the Water Experiment on them all three, then *Florence Newton* confessed she had *over-looked* the Maid, and done her wrong with a kiss. For which she was heartily sorry, and desired God to forgive her. That then he likewise Examined the other two Women, *Halfpenny* and *Dod*, but they utterly deny'd it, and were content to abide any Trial. Whereupon he caused both *Florence*, *Halfpenny*, and *Dod*, to be carried to the Maid. And he told her these two Women, or one of them were said by Gammer *Newton* to have done her hurt, but she answered, No, no, they are honest Women, but it is Gammer *Newton* that hurts me, and I believe she is not far off. That then they afterwards brought in *Newton* privately, and then she fell into a most violent Fit, ready to be strangled, till the Witch was removed, and then she was well again, and this for three several times. He further deposeth, that there were three Aldermen in *Youghall*, whose Children she had kist, as he had heard them affirm, and all the Children died presently after. And as to the sending to *Cork* to have the Bolts put on, swears as is formerly deposed.

Joseph Thompson being likewise sworn, said, That he went in *March* last with *Roger Hawkins*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others to the Prison to confer with *Florence Newton* about the Maid. But she would confess nothing that time. But towards Night there was a noise at the Prison Door, as if something had shak't the Door, and *Florence* started up and said, *What aileth thee to be here at this time of the Night?* and there was much noise. And they asked her what she spoke to, and what made the great noise? But she denied that she spake, or that she knew of any noise, and said, if I spoke, I said I knew

not

not what. And they went their ways at that time, and went to her again the next night, and asked her very seriously about the last Nights passage, and the noise. And then she confessed to them that it was a Greyhound that came to her, and that she had seen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window. And then she confessed she had done the Maid wrong, for which she was sorry, and desired God to forgive her.

Hitherto we have heard the most considerable Evidence touching *Florence Newton*'s Witchcraft upon *Mary Longdon*, for which she was committed to *Youghall* Prison, *March* 24. 1661. But *April* following she bewitcht one *David Jones* to death, by kissing his Hand through the Grate of the Prison, for which she was Indicted at *Corke* Assizes, and the Evidence is as follows.

Elenor Jones Relict of the said *David Jones*, being Sworn and Examined in open Court, what she knew concerning any practice of Witchcraft by the said *Florence Newton* upon the said *David* her Husband? gave in the Evidence, That in *April* last, the said *David* her late Husband having been out all the Night, came home early in the Morning, and said to the said *Elenor* his Wife, where dost thou think I have been all Night? To which she answered, she knew not. Whereupon he replied, I and *Frank Besely* have been standing Centinel over the Witch all Night. To which she the said *Elenor* said, why, what hurt is that? Hurt, quoth he? marry, I doubt it's never a jot the better for me. For she hath kist my Hand through the Grate, and ever since she kist my Hand, I have had a great pain in that Arm, and I verily believe she hath bewitched me, if ever she bewitched any Man. To which she answered, the Lord forbid. That all the Night, and continually from that time he was restless and ill, complaining exceedingly of a great pain in his Arm for seven days together, and at the seven days end he complained, that the pain was come from his Arm to his Heart, and then kept his Bed

Night

Night and day grievously afflicted and crying out against *Florence Newton*, and about fourteen days after he died.

Francis Beseley, being Sworn and Examined, said, That about the time aforementioned meeting with the said *David Jones*, and discoursing with him of the several reports then stirring concerning this *Florence Newton*, (who was then in Prison at *Youghall* for betwitching *Mary Longdon*) *viz.* that she had several Familiars resorting to her in sundry shapes, the said *David Jones* told him the said *Francis Beseley*, that he had a great mind to watch her the said *Florence Newton* one Night, to see whether he could observe any Cats or other Creatures resort to her through the Grate, as 'twas suspected they did, and desired the said *Francis* to go with him, which he did. And that when they came thither *David Jones* came to *Florence*, and told her, that he heard she could not say the Lord'sPrayer: To which she answered, she could. He then desired her to say it: But she excused her self by the decay of Memory through old Age. Then *David Jones* began to teach her, but she could not, or would not say it, though often taught it.

Upon which the said *David Jones* and *Beseley* being withdrawn a little from her, and discoursing of her, not being able to learn this Prayer, she called out to *David Jones*, and said, *David! David!* come hither, I can say the Lord's Prayer now. Upon which *David* went towards her, and the said Deponent would have pluckt him back, and perswaded him not to have gone to her. But he would not be perswaded, but went to the Grate to her, and she began to say the Lord's Prayer, but could not say [*Forgive us our Trespasses.*] So that *David* again taught her. Which she seemed to take very thankfully, and told him she had a great mind to have kist him but that the Grate hindred, but desired she might kiss his Hand. Whereupon he gave her his Hand through the Grate, and she kist it, and towards break of day, they went away and parted, and soon after the Deponent heard, that *David Jones* was ill.

Whereupon he went to viſit him, and found him about two or three days after very ill of a pain in the Arm. Which he exceedingly complained of, and told the Deponent, that ever ſince he parted with him, he had been ſeized on with that pain, and that the Old Hag had bewitched him when ſhe kiſt his Hand, and that ſhe had him now by the Hand, and was pulling off his Arm. And he ſaid, Do you not ſee the Old Hag how ſhe pulls me? Well, I lay my Death on her, ſhe has bewitched me. And ſeveral times after would complain, that ſhe had tormented him, and had bewitched him, that he laid his Death on her. And after fourteen days languiſhing, he the ſaid *David Jones* died.

Advertiſement.

THis Relation is taken out of a Copy of an Authentick Record, as I conceive, every half ſheet having W. Aſton *writ in the Margin, and then again* W. Aſton *at the end of all, who in all likelihood muſt be ſome publick Notary, or Record-Keeper. But this Witch of* Youghall *is ſo famous, that I have heard Mr.* Greatrix *ſpeak of her at my Lord* Conway's *at* Ragley, *and remember very well he told the ſtory of the Awl to me there. There is in this Relation an eximious example of the* Magical venom *of Witches, (whence they are called* Veneficæ) *in that all the miſchief this Witch did, was by kiſſing, or ſome way touching the party ſhe bewitched, and ſhe confeſt, unleſs ſhe touched her, ſhe could do her no hurt. Which may be called a Magical venom, or contagion. But how* Over looking *and* Bewitching *are diſtinguiſhed with thoſe of this Helliſh Fraternity, I know not. But that* Mary Longdon *was* bewitch'd *by her* over-looking *her, is manifeſt. Whether this* Over-looking *relates to* ὀφθαλμὸς βάσκανος, *and that the Magical venom came out at her Eyes when ſhe kiſſed the Maid, and whether this* ὀφθαλμὸς βάσκανος *was the firſt kind of*

Witchery

Witchery distinct from that of bewitching people by Images made of Wax, and afterward any bewitching by meer looking or touching, was called Over-looking, *we will leave to the Criticks of that black School to decide. As also what is that, which in the Witches shape, so haunts and torments the bewitched party. For that it is not the meer fancy of the bewitched seems reasonable to judge, because their meer fancy could not create such kinds of extream torments to them. And therefore it is either the Witches Familiar in her shape, or the* Astral Spirit *of the Witch, because the Witch is sometimes wounded by striking at her Appearance, as it happened in the appearance of* Jane Brooks, *and also in that of* Julian Cox, *as you shall find in the Relation following.*

RELAT. VIII.

The Narrative of Mr. Pool, *a Servant and Officer in the Court to Judge* Archer *in his Circuits, concerning the Trial of* Julian Cox *for Witchcraft; who being himself then present an Officer in the Court, noted as follows,* viz.

J*Ulian Cox*, aged about 70 years, was Indicted at *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, about Summer Assizes 1663. before Judge *Archer*, then Judge of Assize there, for Witchcraft, which she practised upon a young Maid, whereby her body languished, and was impaired of Health, by reason of strange Fits upon account of the said Witchcraft.

The Evidence against her was divided into two Branches; First, to prove her a Witch in general; Secondly, To prove her guilty of the Witchcraft contained in the Indictment.

For the proof of the first particular, The first Witness was an Huntsman, who swore that he went out with a pack of Hounds to Hunt a Hare, and not far from

Julian Cox her Houſe, he at laſt ſtarted a Hare. The *Dogs* hunted her very cloſe, and the third ring hunted her in view, till at laſt the Huntſman perceiving the Hare almoſt ſpent, and making towards a great Buſh, he ran on the other ſide of the Buſh to take her up, and preſerve her from the Dogs But as ſoon as he laid hands on her, it proved to be *Julian Cox*, who had her head groveling on the ground, and her globes (as he expreſt it) upward. He knowing her, was affrighted, that his Hair on his Head ſtood on end; and yet ſpake to her, and askt her what brought her there. But ſhe was ſo far out of Breath, that ſhe could not make him any anſwer. His Dogs alſo came up with full cry to recover the Game, and ſmelt at her, and ſo left off Hunting any further. And the Huntſman with his Dogs went home preſently, ſadly affrighted.

Secondly, Another Witneſs ſwore, That as he paſſed by *Cox* her Door, ſhe was taking a Pipe of Tobacco upon the Threſhold of her Door and invited him to come in and take a Pipe, which he did. And as he was taking, *Julian* ſaid to him, Neighbour look what a pretty thing there is. He look't down, and there was a monſtrous great Toad betwixt his Leggs, ſtaring him in the face. He endeavoured to kill it by ſpurning it, but could not hit it. Whereupon *Julian* bad him forbear, and it would do him no hurt. But he threw down his Pipe and went home, (which was about two Miles off of *Julian Cox* her Houſe) and told his Family what had happened, and that he believed it was one of *Julian Cox* her Devils. After, he was taking a Pipe of Tobacco at home, and the ſame Toad appeared betwixt his Leggs. He took the Toad out to kill it, and to his thinking cut it in ſeveral pieces, but returning to his Pipe, the Toad ſtill appeared. He endeavoured to burn it, but could not. At length he took a Switch and beat it. The Toad ran ſeveral times about the Room to avoid him, he ſtill purſuing it with correction. At length the Toad cryed and vaniſh't, and he was never after troubled with it.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Another ſwore, That *Julian* paſt by his Yard while his Beaſts were in Milking, and ſtooping down, ſcored upon the ground for ſome ſmall time. During which time his Cattle run mad, and ſome ran their heads againſt the Trees, and moſt of them died ſpeedily. Whereupon concluding they were bewitched, he was after adviſed to this Experiment, to find out the Witch, *viz.* to cut off the Ears of the bewitched Beaſts and burn them, and that the Witch would be in miſery, and could not reſt till they were plucked out. Which he tried, and while they were burning, *Julian Cox* came into the Houſe, raging and ſcolding, that they had abuſed her without cauſe, but ſhe went preſently to the Fire, and took out the Ears that were burning, and then ſhe was quiet.

Fourthly, Another Witneſs ſwore, That ſhe had ſeen *Julian Cox* fly into her own Chamber Window in her full proportion, and that ſhe very well knew her, and was ſure it was ſhe.

Fifthly, Another Evidence was the confeſſion of *Julian Cox* her ſelf upon her Examination before a Juſtice of Peace, which was to this purpoſe, That ſhe had been often tempted by the Devil to be a Witch, but never conſented. That one Evening ſhe walkt about a Mile from her own Houſe, and there came riding towards her three Perſons upon three Broomſtaves, born up about a yard and an half from the ground. Two of them ſhe formerly knew, which was a Witch and a Wizzard that were hanged for Witchcraft for ſeveral years before. The third perſon ſhe knew not. He came in the ſhape of a black Man, and tempted her to give him her Soul, or to that effect, and to expreſs it by pricking her Finger, and giving her name in her Blood in token of it, and told her that ſhe had revenge againſt ſeveral perſons that had wronged her but could not bring her purpoſe to paſs without his help, and that upon the terms aforeſaid he would aſſiſt her to be revenged againſt them. But ſhe ſaid, ſhe did not conſent

to it. This was the ſum of the general Evidence to prove her a Witch.

But now for the ſecond particular, to prove her guilty of the Witchcraft upon the Maid, whereof ſhe was indicted, this Evidence was offered:

It was proved, that *Julian Cox* came for an Alms to the Houſe where this Maid was a Servant, and that the Maid told her, ſhe ſhould have none, and gave her a croſs anſwer that diſpleaſed *Julian*. Whereupon *Julian* was angry, and told the Maid ſhe ſhould repent it before Night, and ſo ſhe did. For before Night ſhe was taken with a Convulſion Fit, and after that left her, ſhe ſaw *Julian Cox* following her, and cryed out to the People in the Houſe to ſave her from *Julian*.

But none ſaw *Julian* but the Maid, and all did impute it to her imagination only. And in the Night ſhe cryed out of *Julian Cox*, and the black Man, that they came upon her Bed and tempted her to drink ſomething they offered her. But ſhe cryed out, ſhe defied the Devils Drenches This alſo they imputed to her imagination, and bad her be quiet, becauſe they in the ſame Chamber with her, did not ſee or hear any thing, and they thought it had been her conceit only.

The Maid the next Night expecting the ſame conflict ſhe had the Night before, brought up with her a Knife, and laid it at her Beds head. About the ſame time of the Night as before, *Julian* and the black Man came again upon the Maids Bed, and tempted her to drink that which they brought, but ſhe refuſed, crying in the audience of the reſt of the Family, that ſhe defied the Devils Drenches, and took the Knife and ſtabbed *Julian*, and, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe wounded her in the Leg, and was importunate with the Witneſs to ride to *Julian Cox*'s Houſe preſently to ſee if it were not ſo. The Witneſs went and took the Knife with him. *Julian Cox* would not let him in, but they forced the Door open, and found a freſh Wound in *Julian*'s Leg, as the Maid had ſaid, which did ſuit with the Knife, and *Julian* had been juſt

dreſſing

dressing it when the Witness came. There was Blood also found upon the Maids Bed.

The next Morning the Maid continued her out-cries, that *Julian Cox* appeared to her in the House Wall, and offered her great Pins which she was forced to swallow. And all the day the Maid was observed to convey her hand to the House Wall, and from the Wall to her Mouth, and she seemed, by the motion of her Mouth, as if she did eat something. But none saw any thing but the Maid, and therefore thought still it might be her phancy, and did not much mind it. But towards Night this Maid began to be very ill, and complained, that the Pins that *Julian* forced her to eat out of the Wall, did torment her in all parts of her Body that she could not endure it, and made lamentable out-cries for pain. Whereupon several Persons being present, the Maid was undressed, and in several parts of the Maids Body several great swellings appeared, and out of the heads of the swellings several great Pins points appeared. Which the Witnesses took out, and upon the Trial there were about Thirty great Pins produced in Court (which I my self handled) all which were sworn by several Witnesses, that they were taken out of the Maids Body in manner as is aforesaid.

Judge *Archer*, who tryed the Prisoner, told the Jury, that he had heard, that a Witch could not repeat that Petition in the Lord's Prayer, *viz.* [*And lead us not into temptation*] and having this occasion he would try the Experiment, and told the Jury, that whether she could or could not, they were not in the least measure to guide their Verdict according to it, because it was not legal Evidence, but that they must be guided in their Verdict by the former Evidences given in upon Oath only.

The Prisoner was called for up to the next Bar to the Court, and demanded if she could say the Lord's Prayer? She said she could, and went over the Prayer readily till she came to that Petition. Then she said [And lead us into temptation] or [And lead us not into no temptation]

tion] but could not ſay [*And lead us not into temptation*] though ſhe was directed to ſay it after one that repeated it to her diſtinctly. But ſhe could not repeat it otherwiſe than is expreſſed already, though tried to do it near half a ſcore times in open Court. After all which, the Jury found her guilty, and Judgment having been given, within three or four days ſhe was Executed without any Confeſſion of the Fact.

Advertiſement.

This is a Copy of the Narrative ſent by Mr. Pool, *Oct.* 24. 1672. *to Mr.* Archer *of* Emmanuel *Colledge, Nephew to the Judge, upon the deſire of Dr.* Bright. *But I remember here at* Cambridge, *I heard the main paſſage, of this Narrative, when they firſt were ſpread abroad after the Aſſizes, and particularly by* G. Ruſt, *after Biſhop of* Dromore *in* Ireland. *Nor do I doubt but it is a true account of what was atteſted before Judge* Archer *at the Aſſizes. For it is a thing to me altogether incredible, that he that was an Officer, or Servant of the Judge, and preſent in the Court at the Examination and Trial, and there took Notes, ſhould write a Narrative, when there were ſo many Ear-witneſſes beſides himſelf of the ſame things, that would be obnoxious to the diſproof of thoſe who were preſent as well as himſelf. It may not be amiſs here to tranſcribe what Dr.* M. *did write to Mr.* G. *touching this ſtory in a Letter dated* Dec. 26. 1678.

This Narrative, ſays he, *hath the moſt Authentick confirmation that human affairs are capable of,* Senſe *and the ſacredneſs of an* Oath. *But yet I confeſs, I heard that Judge* Archer *has been taxed by ſome of over-much credulity, for ſentencing* Julian Cox *to death upon thoſe Evidences. But to deal freely, I ſuſpect by ſuch, as out of their ignorance miſ-interpreted ſeveral paſſages in the Evidence, or were of ſuch a dull ſtupid* Sadducean *temper, that they*

believe

believe there are no Spirits nor Witches. And truly I must confess, that the Huntsman, though he deposed upon Oath, that when he came in to take up the Hare at the Bush, it proved to be Julian Cox, *with her face towards the ground,* &c. *his expressing of himself touching her Globes, and the Dogs smelling,* &c. *looks something humoursomly and ludicrously on it. But I must further add, that I think it was only that his fancy was tickled with the featness of the Phænomenon, not that he would be so wicked as to tell a lie upon Oath and that for nothing.* Sic vita hominum est, *says Tully*, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur sine spe atque emolumento accedere. *But that those half-witted People thought he swore false, I suppose was because they imagined that what he told implied that* Julian Cox *was turned into an Hare. Which she was not , nor did his report imply any such real Metamophorsis of her Body, but that these ludicrous Dæmons exhibited to the sight of this Huntsman and his Dogs the shape of an Hare, one of them turning himself into such a form, and others hurrying on the body of* Julian *near the same place, and at the same swiftness, but interposing betwixt that Hare-like Spectre and her Body, modifying the Air, so that the scene there, to the beholders sight, was as if nothing but Air were there, and a shew of Earth perpetually suited to that where the Hare passed. As I have heard of some Painters that have drawn the Sky in an huge Land-skip, so lively, that the Birds have flown against it, thinking it free Air, and so have fallen down. And if Painters and Juglers, by the tricks of Legerdemain, can do such strange feats to the deceiving of the sight, it is no wonder that these Airy invisible Spirits as far surpass them in all such præstigious doings, as the Air surpasses the Earth for subtilty.*

And the like Præstigiæ *may be in the Toad. It might be a real Toad (though actuated and guided by a Dæmon) which was cut in pieces, and that also which was whipt about, and at last snatcht out of sight (as if it had vanished) by these Aerial* Hocus-Pocus'*s. And if some Juglers have tricks to take hot Coals into their Mouth without hurt, certainly*

tainly it is no ſtrange thing that ſome ſmall attempt did not ſuffice to burn that Toad. That ſuch a Toad, ſent by a Witch, and crawling up the Body of the Man of the Houſe as he ſate by the Fire's ſide, was overmaſtered by him and his Wife together, and burnt in the fire; I have heard ſometime ago, credibly reported, by one of the Iſle of Ely. *Of theſe Dæmoniack Vermin, I have heard other ſtories alſo, as of a Rat that followed a Man ſome ſcore of Miles, trudging through thick and thin along with him. So little difficulty is there in that of the Toad.*

And that of Julian Cox's *being ſeen to fly in at her own Chamber Window, there is no difficulty in it, if it be underſtood of her* Familiar, *the black Man, that had transformed himſelf into her ſhape. For this is no ſuch unuſual thing for Witches to appear, either in their* Aſtral Spirits, *or by their* Familiars, *as if it were their very bodily Perſons. But when ſhe appeared to the Maid, together with the black Man, and offered her to drink, it is likely it was her* Aſtral Spirit, *and* Julian's *being wounded in her Body by the wound on her Aſtral Spirit, is juſt ſuch another caſe, as that of* Jane Brooks, *which you your ſelf note in your Book of Witchcraft.*

The moſt incredible thing is her eating of Pins, ſhe knowing them to be ſuch. But they that are bewitched are not themſelves, and being poſſeſſed are actuated in the parts of their Body, and their mind driven by that ugly inmate in them, to what he will; which is notorious in the ſtory of Mrs. Frogmorton's *Children. And for the Pins thus ſwallowed, their coming out into the exteriour parts of her Body, Examples of this ſort are infinite; and far more ſtrange than theſe are recorded by* Baptiſta Van Helmont, de Injectis.

Theſe are the moſt incredible paſſages in this Narrative, and yet you ſee how credible they are, if rightly underſtood. But thoſe that believe no Spirits, will believe nothing never ſo credible of this kind, and others that have ſome natural averſion from theſe things, will preſently interpret them in the vulgar ſenſe, and then ſweetly ſneer at their own ignorance.

rance. But I must confess, if this be a true Relation of what passed in the Court, I do not question but the things that were sworn did so appear to them that swore them. Or else there is nothing to be credited in human affairs. But concerning the truth of the Relation, besides what I hinted in my last to you, you would do well to write to some or other in Taunton, *&c.* Thus far Dr. *M.*

And if any one be so curious as to desire an account of Mr. G. *his further inquiry into this business, I can tell him, that he wrote to Mr.* Hunt, *who then busie in some Court, yet made shift to read the Narrative, and wrote two or three lines to him back to this effect. That one principal Evidence was omitted in the Narrative, but that is nothing against the truth of the rest. But he adds also, that some things were false. Which would stumble one, and make him think that the credit of this Narrative is quite blasted thereby. But this riddle is easily unriddled by him that considers, that Mr.* Hunt *may respect those things that are said to be confest by her in her examination before a Justice of Peace. For he also having some time Examined her, and she making no such confession to him (as Mr.* G. *himself says in a Letter to Dr.* M. *that he perused that Examination in Mr* Hunt's *Book, and there was not any thing considerable therein) might speak this in reference to the Examination which he had taken; she then not confessing so freely as to some other Justice, whose Examination therefore was made use of in the Court. But this cannot concern at all the rest of the Narrative, which was given upon Oath in the Court in the hearing of all. This I thought fit not to omit, as being desirous to deal with all faithfulness in concealing nothing, and not to impose upon the Reader, but that he may make his judgment upon the whole matter.*

As for the Witches being hurried along with that Hare-like Spectre, her being out of breath (as the Huntsman testified) makes it most probable; or at least that she was hurried from some other place on the earth, or in the air (to meet there at length with the Hare-like Spectre) but this invisibly by that κλεψωπία, *or* Prestigiatory *art or faculty of these*

theſe ludicrous Dæmons, whereby they can ſo modifie the Air immediately next to the party they would conceal, that it looks there like the free Skie, or what Landskip they pleaſe, as when they ſhew in a Shew-ſtone or Glaſs, the very Room in which the party is, the Dæmon by the power of his Imagination, ſo modifying at leaſt his own Vehicle. Which power ſome of thoſe of the Atheiſtick Brotherhood cannot with any face deny, ſuppoſing there are Dæmons, they giving a greater power to the Imagination of a Man, as if it were able to transform the Air into real Birds or Mice, or ſuch like Creatures livingly ſuch for the preſent. But any thing muſt be believed, rather than the Exiſtence of Witches and Dæmons.

It will not be amiſs here to take notice what an eminent Example this Julian Cox is of Moſes his Megnonenah or Mecaſſephah taken in the ſame ſenſe, that is, of ſuch a Witch as is thought by a κλεψωπία, or Preſtigiatory power (though it is the Devil that does theſe feats, not ſhe) to transform her ſelf into ſtrange ſhapes, and uſe other ſuch like deceptions of the ſight. As alſo it is a notable inſtance of the Aſtral Spirits of Witches, how ſtrongl , though at a diſtance of place, they are tied together in a fatal Sympathy with their Bodies, the Body of Julian being wounded by a ſtab at her Aſtral Spirit, as it fared al o in Jane Brooks, and an Old Woman in Cambridge-ſhire, whoſe Aſtral Spirit coming into a Mans Houſe, (as he was ſitting alone at the Fire) in the ſhape of an huge Cat and ſetting her ſelf before the Fire, not far from him, he ſtole a ſtroke at the back of it with a Fire-fork, and ſeemed to break the back of it, but it ſcambled from him, and vaniſht he knew not how. But ſuch an Old Woman, a reputed Witch, was found dead in her Bed that very Night, with her Back broken, as I have heard ſome years ago credibly reported.

That alſo is a marvellous Magical Sympathy in this ſtory of Julian Cox, that the burning of the Ears of the Beaſt bewitched by her, ſhould put her into ſuch rage and torment. Like the heating of the Tile red hot in the ſtory of Florence Newton, and pouring ſome of the bewitched Maid's Water

upon it. Which puts me in mind of a very remarkable story of this kind, told me by Mr. Brearly, *once Fellow of Christ's Colledge in* Cambridge, *who boarded in an House in* Suffolk, *where his Landlady had been ill handled by Witchcraft.*

For an Old Man that Travelled up and down the Country, and had some acquaintance at that House, calling in and asking the Man of the House how he did and his Wife; He told him that himself was well, but his Wife had been a long time in a languishing condition, and that she was haunted with a thing in the shape of a Bird, that would flurr near to her face, and that she could not enjoy her natural rest well. The Old Man bid him and his Wife be of good courage. It was but a dead Spright, *he said, and he would put him in a course to rid his Wife of this languishment and trouble. He therefore advised him to take a Bottle, and put his Wives Urine into it, together with Pins, and Needles, and Nails, and Cork them up, and set the Bottle to the Fire, but be sure the Cork be fast in it, that it fly not out. The Man followed the prescription, and set the Bottle to the Fire well Corkt, which when it had felt a while the heat of the Fire, began to move and joggle a little, but he for sureness took the Fireshovel, and held it hard upon the Cork. And as he thought, he felt something one while on this side, another while on that, shove the Fireshovel off, which he still quickly put on again, but at last at one shoving the Cork bounced out, and the Urine, Pins, Nails and Needles, all flew up, and gave a report like a Pistol, and his Wife continued in the same trouble and languishment still.*

Not long after, the Old Man came to the House again, and inquired of the Man of the House how his Wife did. Who answered, as ill as ever, if not worse. He askt him if he had followed his direction. Yes, says he, and told him the event as is abovesaid. Ha, quoth he, it seems it was too nimble for you. But now I will put you in a way that will make the business sure. Take your Wive's Urine as before, and Cork it in a Bottle with Nails, Pins, and Needles, and bury it in the Earth; and that will do the feat. The

Man

Man did accordingly. And his Wife began to mend sensibly, and in a competent time was finely well recovered. But there came a Woman from a Town some miles off to their House, with a lamentable Out-cry, that they had killed her Husband. They askt her what she meant, and thought her distracted, telling her they knew neither her nor her Husband. Yes, saith she, you have killed my Husband, he told me so on his Death-Bed. But at last they understood by her, that her Husband was a Wizzard, and had bewitched this Mans Wife, and that this Counter-practice prescribed by the Old Man, which saved the Mans Wife from languishment, was the death of that Wizzard that had bewitched her. This story did Mr. Brearly *hear from the Man and Womans own Mouth who were concerned, and at whose House he for a time Boarded, nor is there any doubt of the truth thereof.*

But it will be more easie for any rational Man to believe stories of this kind, than to find out a satisfactory account of the operation and effect, or to assure the lawfulness of such counter-practice against Witchcraft, unless they can be resolved into the Sympathy *and* Synenergy *of the* Spiritus Mundanus, *(which* Plotinus *calls* τ̃ μέγαν γόητα, *the grand Magician) such as the operation of the Weapon-salve, and other Magnetick Cures are resolved into. And forasmuch as the power of a truly* Divine Magick, *such as Prophets and Holy Lawgivers are endued with, is too great and august to be found in ordinary good Men that are to bring in no new Law or Religion into the World, the benignity of Providence is to be acknowledged in that the Villanies of Witchcraft lie obnoxious to such a natural or ratified way of* Discoveries *and* Counter-practices *as these. But how this obnoxiousness of Witches is complicated with their Familiars sucking their Bodies, is a point too nice and prolix to enter upon here. But it is most safe not to tamper at all with these things, and most happy to have no occasion for it.*

Lastly, As for Julian Cox, *her not being able to say one of the Petitions in the Lords Prayer, the case is like that of* Florence Newton *the* Irish *Witch, but unlike in this, that*

it

it was not the ſame Petition Florence Newton *ſtuck at. And I remember when I had the curioſity with a Friend of mine, of examining certain Witches at* Caſtle-hill *in* Cambridge, *the moſt notorious of them, who alſo was hanged for a Witch, offered to ſay the Creed and Lord's Prayer, as an Argument ſhe was no Witch, and ſo far as I remember, ſhe ſaid the Lord's Prayer right, but was out at the Creed; nor do I think this any certain ſign of their guilt or innocency, and therefore Judge* Archer *did well to lay no ſtreſs on it. But theſe things are of leſs moment, and therefore I paſs to the next Relation, which looks not ſo much like Witchcraft, as the Apparition of the Ghoſt of one deceaſed.*

RELAT. IX.

Which is a Relation of Thomas Goddard *of* Marleborough, *in the County of* Wilts, *Weaver, made the* 23 Nov. 1674.

WHO ſaith, That on *Monday* the Ninth of this Inſtant, as he was going to *Ogborn*, at a Style on the Highway near Mr. *Goddard*'s Ground, about Nine in the Morning, he met the Apparition of his Father-in-Law, one *Edward Avon* of this Town, Glover, who died in *May* laſt, having on, to his appearance, the ſame Cloths, Hat, Stockings and Shoes, he did uſually wear when he was living, ſtanding by, and leaning over that Style. Which when he came near, the Apparition ſpake to him with an audible Voice theſe words, *Are you afraid?* To which he anſwered, I am, thinking on one who is dead and buried, whom you are like. To which the Apparition replyed with the like Voice, I am he that you were thinking on, I am *Edward Avon* your Father-in-Law, come near to me, I will do you no harm. To which *Goddard* anſwered, I truſt in him who hath bought my Soul with his precious Blood, you ſhall do me no harm. Then the *Apparition* ſaid, How ſtand

ſtand caſes at home? *Goddard* askt, what caſes? Then it askt him how do *William* and *Mary*, meaning, as he conceived, his Son *William Avon* a Shoemaker here, and *Mary* his Daughter the ſaid *Goddard*'s Wife. Then it ſaid, What! *Taylor* is dead, meaning, as he thought, one *Taylor* of *London*, who Married his Daughter *Sarah*, which *Taylor* died about *Michaelmas* laſt. Then the *Apparition* held out its hand, and in it, as *Goddard* conceived, twenty or thirty ſhillings in ſilver, and then ſpake with a loud Voice: *Take this Money and ſend it to Sarah; for I ſhut up my Bowels of compaſſion towards her in the time of my life, and now here is ſomewhat for her.* And then ſaid, *Mary* (meaning his the ſaid *Goddard*'s Wife as he conceived) *is troubled for me; but tell her God hath ſhewed mercy to me contrary to my deſerts.* But the ſaid *Goddard* anſwered, *In the Name of* JESUS CHRIST *I refuſe all ſuch Money.* Then the *Apparition* ſaid, *I perceive you are afraid, I will meet you ſome other time.* And immediately it went up the Lane to his appearance. So he went over the ſame Style, but ſaw it no more that day.

He ſaith, the next night about ſeven of the Clock, it came and opened his Shop Window, and ſtood in the like Cloaths, looked him in the Face, but ſaid nothing to him. And the next Night after, as *Goddard* went forth into his Backſide with a Candle light in his Hand, it appeared to him again in the ſame Shape, but he being in Fear, ran into his Houſe, and ſaw it no more then.

But he ſaith, That on *Thurſday* the twelfth inſtant, as he came from *Chilton*, riding down the Hill, between the Mannor-Houſe and *Axford-Farm-Field*, he ſaw ſomewhat like a Hare croſſed his way, at which his Horſe frighted threw him in the dirt, and as ſoon as he could recover on his Feet, the ſame Apparition there met him again in the ſame Habit, and there ſtanding about eight foot directly before him in the way, ſpake again to him with a loud Voice, *Source* (a word he commonly uſed when

when living) *you have ſtayed long*; and then ſaid to him, *Thomas, bid* William Avon *take the Sword that he had of me, which is now in his Houſe, and carry it to the Wood as we go to* Alton, *to the upper end of the Wood by the way-ſide; for with that Sword I did wrong above Thirty years ago, and he never proſpered ſince he had that Sword. And bid* William Avon *give his Siſter* Sarah *twenty ſhillings of the Money which he had of me. And do you talk with* Edward Lawrence, *for I borrowed twenty ſhillings of him ſeveral years ago, and did ſay I had paid him, but I did not pay it him; and I would deſire you to pay him twenty ſhillings out of the Money which you had from* James Elliot *at two payments.* Which Money the ſaid *Goddard* now ſaith was five pounds, which *James Elliot*, a Baker here, owed the ſaid *Avon* on Bond, and which he the ſaid *Goddard* had received from the ſaid *Elliot* ſince *Michaelmas* at two payments, *viz.* 35 *s.* at one, and 3 *l.* 5 *s.* at another payment. And it further ſaid to him, *Tell* Margaret (meaning his own Wife as he conceived) *that I would deſire her to deliver up the little which I gave to little* Sarah Taylor *to the Child, or to any one ſhe will truſt for it. But if ſhe will not, ſpeak to* Edward Lawrence *to perſwade her. But if ſhe will not then, tell her that I will ſee her very ſuddenly. And ſee that this be done within a Twelve-month and a day after my deceaſe, and peace be with you.* And ſo it went away over the Rails into the Wood there in the like manner as any Man would go over a Style, to his apprehenſion, and ſo he ſaw it no more at that time. And he ſaith, that he paid the twenty ſhillings to *Edward Lawrence* of this Town, who being preſent now, doth remember he lent the ſaid *Avon* twenty ſhillings about twenty years ago, which none knew but himſelf and Wife, and *Avon* and his Wife, and was never paid it again before now by this *Goddard*.

And this ſaid *Goddard* further ſaith, That this very day, by Mr. Mayor's order, he, with his Brother-in-Law *William Avon*, went with the Sword, and about Nine a Clock this Morning, they laid down the Sword in the

Copſe near the place the *Apparition* had appointed *Goddard* to carry it, and then coming away thence, *Goddard* looking back, ſaw the ſame *Apparition* again in the like habit as before. Whereupon he called to his Brother-in-Law, and ſaid, *Here is the Apparition of our Father*; Who ſaid, *I ſee nothing*. Then *Goddard* fell on his Knees, and ſaid, *Lord, open his Eyes that he may ſee it.* But he replyed, *Lord, grant I may not ſee it, if it be thy bleſſed Will.* And then the *Apparition* to *Goddard*'s appearance, beckned with his hand to him to come to it. And then *Goddard* ſaid, *In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, what would you have me to do?* Then the *Apparition* ſaid to him, *Thomas, take up the Sword, and follow me.* To which he ſaid, *Should both of us come, or but one of us?* To which it anſwered, *Thomas, do you take up the Sword.* And ſo he took up the Sword and followed the Apparition about ten Lugs (that is Poles) further into the Copſe, and then turning back, he ſtood ſtill about a Lug and a half from it, his Brother-in-Law ſtaying behind at the place where they firſt laid down the Sword. Then *Goddard* laying down the Sword upon the ground, ſaw ſomething ſtand by the Apparition like a Maſtiff Dog, of a brown colour. Then the Apparition coming towards *Goddard*, he ſtept back about two ſteps, and the Apparition ſaid to him, *I have a permiſſion to you, and commiſſion not to touch you*; and then it took up the Sword, and went back to the place at which before it ſtood, with a Maſtiff Dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the Sword into the ground, and ſaid, *In this place lies buried the Body of him which I murdered in the year* 1635. which is now rotten and turned to duſt. Whereupon *Goddard* ſaid, *I do adjure you in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, wherefore did you do this Murder?* And it ſaid, *I took Money from the Man, and he contended with me, and ſo I murdered him.* Then *Goddard* askt him, who was Confederate with him in the ſaid Murder? and it ſaid, *None but my ſelf.* Then *Goddard* ſaid, *What would you have me*

me do in this thing? And the *Apparition* said, *This is that the World may know that I murdered a Man, and buried him in this place, in the year* 1635.

Then the Apparition laid down the Sword on the bare ground there, whereon grew nothing, but seemed to *Goddard* to be as a Grave sunk in. And then the Apparition rushing further into the Copse vanished, and he saw it no more. Whereupon *Goddard* and his Brother-in-Law *Avon*, leaving the Sword there, and coming away together, *Avon* told *Goddard* he heard his Voice, and understood what he said, and heard other words distinct from his, but could not understand a word of it, nor saw any *Apparition* at all. Which he now also present affirmeth, and all which the said *Goddard* then attested under his hand, and affirmed he will depose the same when he shall be thereto required.

In the presence of *Christ. Lypyatt*, Mayor, *Rolf Bayly* Town-Clerk, *Joshuah Sacheverell*, Rector of St *Peters* in *Marlborough*.

Examined by me

Will. Bayly.

Advertisement.

THat Tho. Goddard *saw this* Apparition, *seems to be a thing undubitable; but whether it was his Father-in-Law's Ghost, that is more questionable. The former is confirmed from an hand at least impartial, if not disfavourable to the story. The party in his Letter to Mr.* G--- *writes briefly to this effect.* 1. *That he does verily think that this* Tho. Goddard *does believe the story most strongly himself.* 2. *That he cannot imagine what interest he should have in raising such a story, he bringing Infamy on*

his Wives Father, and obliging himself to pay twenty shillings debt, which his poverty could very ill spare. 3. *That his Father-in-Law* Edward Avon, *was a resolute sturdy Fellow in his young years, and many years a Bailiff to Arrest people.* 4. *That* Tho. Goddard *had the repute of an honest Man, knew as much in Religion as most of his rank and breeding, and was a constant frequenter of the Church, till about a year before this happened to him, he fell off wholly to the Non-Conformists.*

All this hitherto, save this last of all, tends to the Confirmation of the story. Therefore this last shall be the first Allegation against the credibility thereof. 2. *It is further alledged, that possibly the design of the story may be to make him to be accounted an extraordinary some-body amongst the Dissenting Party.* 3. *That he is sometimes troubled with Epileptical Fits.* 4. *That the Mayor sent the next Morning to dig the place where the Spectre said the Murdered Man was Buried, and there was neither bones found, nor any difference of the Earth in that place from the rest.*

But we answer briefly to the first, That his falling off to the Non-Conformists, though it may argue a vacillancy of his judgment, yet it does not any defect of his external senses, as if he were less able to discern when he saw or heard any thing than before: To the second, That it is a perfect contradiction to his strong belief of the truth of his own story, which plainly implies, that he did not feign it to make himself an extraordinary some-body: To the third, That an Epileptical Person, when he is out of his Fits, hath his external senses as true and entire, as a Drunken Man has when his Drunken Fit is over, or a Man awake after a night of sleep and Dreams. So that this argument has not the least shew of force with it, unless you will take away the authority of all Mens Senses, because at sometimes they have not a competent use of them, namely, in sleep, drunkenness, or the like. But now lastly, for the fourth, which is most considerable, it is yet of no greater force than to make it questionable whether this Spectre was the Ghost of his Father, or some ludicrous Goblin, that would put a trick upon Thomas

mas Goddard, *by personating his Father-in-Law, and by a false pointing at the pretended Grave of the Murdered, make him ridiculous. For what* Porphyrius *has noted, I doubt not but is true, That* Dæmons *sometimes personate the Souls of the deceased. But if an uncoffined Body being laid in a ground exposed to wet and dry, the Earth may in 30 or 40 years space consume the very bones, and assimilate all to the rest of the mold, when some Earths will do it in less than the fifteenth or twentieth part of that space: Or if the Ghost of* Edward Avon *might have forgot the certain place (it being no grateful object of his memory) where he buried the murdered Man, and only guessed that to be it, because it was something sunk, as if the Earth yielded upon the wasting of the Buried Body, the rest of the story will still naturally import, that it was the very Ghost of* Edward Avon. *Besides, himself expresly declares, as that the Body was Buried there, so that by this time it was all turn'd into dust.*

But whether it was a ludicrous Dæmon, *or* Edward Avon's *Ghost, concerns not our Scope. It is sufficient, that it is a certain instance of a real Apparition, and I thought fit as in the former story, so here, to be so faithful as to conceal nothing that any might pretend to lessen the credibility thereof. Stories of the appearing of Souls departed are not for the tooth of the Non-Conformists, who, as it is said, if they generally believe this, it must be from the undeniable evidence thereof, nor could* Thomas Goddard *gratifie them by inventing of it; and that it was not a fancy, the knowledge of the twenty shillings debt imparted to* Thomas Goddard, *ignorant thereof before, and his Brother* Avon's *hearing a Voice distinct from his in his discourse with the* Apparition, *does plainly enough imply. Nor was it* Goddard's *own fancy, but that real Spectre that opened his shop-window. Nor his imagination, but something in the shape of an Hare, that made his Horse start, and cast him into the dirt; The Apparition of* Avon *being then accompanied with that Hare, as after with a Mastiff Dog. And lastly, the whole frame of the story, provided the Relator does verily*

think it true himself (as Mr. S. *testifies for him in his Letter to Mr.* Glanvil, *and himself profest he was ready at any time to swear to it) is such, that it being not a voluntary Invention, cannot be an imposing Fancy.*

RELAT. X.

The Apparition of the Ghost of Major George Sydenham, *to Captain* William Dyke, *taken out of a Letter of Mr.* James Douch *of* Mongton, *to Mr.* Jos. Glanvil.

CONcerning the Apparition of the Ghost of Major *George Sydenham* (late of *Dulverton* in the County of *Somerset*) to Captain *William Dyke* (late of *Skilgate* in this County also, and now likewise deceased) be pleased to take the Relation of it as I have it from the Worthy and Learned Dr. *Tho. Dyke*, a near Kinsman of the Captain's, thus: Shortly after the Major's Death, the Doctor was desired to come to the House, to take care of a Child that was there sick, and in his way thither he called on the Captain, who was very willing to wait on him to the Place, because he must, as he said, have gone thither that Night, though he had not met with so encouraging an Opportunity. After their arrival there at the House, and the Civility of the People shewn them in that Entertainment, they were seasonably conducted to their Lodging, which they desired might be together in the same Bed; Where after they had lain a while, the Captain knockt and bids the Servant bring him two of the largest and biggest Candles lighted that he could get. Whereupon the Doctor enquires what he meant by this? The Captain answers, you know, Cousin, what Disputes my Major and I have had touching the Being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul. In which Points, we could never yet be resolved, though we so much sought for, and desired it. And therefore it was at length fully agreed

agreed between us, That he of us that dyed first, should the third Night after his Funeral, between the Hours of Twelve and One, come to the little House that is here in the Garden, and there give a full Account to the Surviver touching these Matters, who should be sure to be present there at the set time, and so receive a full Satisfaction. And this, says the Captain, is the very Night, and I am come on Purpose to fulfil my Promise. The Doctor disswaded him, minding him of the Danger of following those strange Counsels, for which we could have no Warrant, and that the Devil might, by some cunning Device, make such an Advantage of this rash Attempt, as might work his utter Ruine. The Captain replies, that he had solemnly engaged and that Nothing should discourage him: and adds, That if the Doctor would wake a while with him, he would thank him, if not, he might compose himself to his Rest, but for his own Part he was resolved to watch, that he might be sure to be present at the Hour appointed. To that Purpose he sets his Watch by him, and as soon as he perceived by it, that it was half an hour past Eleven, he rises, and taking a Candle in each Hand, goes out by a back Door, of which he had before gotten the Key, and walks to the Garden-house, where he continued two Hours and an half, and at his Return declared that he neither saw nor heard any thing more than what was usual. But I know, said he, that my Major would surely have come, had he been able.

About six Weeks after the Captain rides to *Eaton*, to place his Son a Scholar there when the Doctor went thither with him. They lodged there at an Inn, the Sign was the *Christopher*, and tarried two or three Nights, not lying together now as before at *Dulverton*, but in two several Chambers. The Morning before they went thence, The Captain stayed in his Chamber longer than he was wont to do before he called upon the Doctor. At length he comes into the Doctor's Cham-

ber, but in a Visage and Form much differing from himself, with his Hair and Eyes staring, and his whole Body shaking and trembling. Whereat the Doctor wondring, presently demanded, What is the Matter, Cousin Captain? The Captain replies, I have seen my Major. At which the Doctor seeming to smile, the Captain immediately confirms it, saying, if ever I saw him in my Life I saw him but now. And then he related to the Doctor what had passed, thus: This Morning after it was light, some one comes to my Beds side, and suddenly drawing back the Curtains, calls *Cap. Cap* (which was the Term of Familiarity that the Major used to call the Captain by) to whom I replied, What my Major? to which he returns, I could not come at the Time appointed, but I am now come to tell you, *That there is a God, and a very Just and Terrible one, and if You do not turn over a New Leaf* (the very Expression as is by the Doctor punctually remembred) *You will find it so.* (The Captain proceeded) On the Table by, there lay a Sword, which the Major had formerly given me. Now after the Apparition had walked a Turn or two about the Chamber, he took up the Sword, drew it out, and finding it not so Clean and Bright as it ought, *Cap. Cap.* says he, *this Sword did not use to be kept after this Manner, when it was mine.* After which Words he suddenly disappeared.

The Captain was not only throughly perswaded of what he had thus seen and heard, but was from that time observed to be very much affected with it. And the Humour that before in him was Brisk and Jovial, was then strangely altered. Insomuch as very little Meat would pass down with him at Dinner, though at the taking Leave of their Friends there was a very handsome Treat provided. Yea, it was observed that what the Captain had thus seen and heard had a more lasting Influence upon him, and it is judged by those who were well acquainted with his Conversation, that the Remembrance of this Passage stuck close to him,

and that those Words of his Dead Friend, were frequently sounding Fresh in his Ears, during the Remainder of his Life, which was about two Years.

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FOR a further assurance of the Truth of the Story, it will not be amiss to take notice what Mr. Douch *writes in his second Letter to Mr.* Glanvil, *touching the Character of the Major and the Captain. They were both, saith he, of my good Acquaintance, Men well bred, and of a brisk Humour and jolly Conversation, of very quick and keen Parts, having also been both of them University and Inns of Court Gentlemen. The Major, I conceive, was about Forty five Years old when he dyed, and I believe the Captain might then be Fifty, or somewhat more. I cannot understand that the Doctor and the Captain had any Discourse concerning the former Engagement to meet, after the Disappointment at that time and place, or whether the Captain had after that any Expectation of the Performance of the Promise which the Major had made him. Thus far Mr.* Douch. *And truly one would naturally think, that he failing the solemn Appointed time, the Captain would consequently let go all Hopes and Expectation of his Appearing afterward. Or if he did, that it would be at such a time of the Night as was first determined of, and not at the Morning light. Which Season yet is less obnoxious to the Impostures of Fancy and Melancholy, and therefore adds some Weight to the Assurance of the Truth of the Apparition. I will only add one Clause more out of that second Letter that makes to the Point. This Story, saith he, has and doth still obtain Credit from all that knew the Captain, who it seems was not at all shie or scrupulous to relate it to any one that askt him concerning it, tho it was observed he never mentioned it, but with great Terrour and Trepidation.*

RE-

RELAT. XI.

Being a Postscript *of the first Letter of Mr.* Douch, *concerning the appearing of the Ghost of Sir* George Villiers, *Father to the first Duke of* Buckingham.

SIR,

SInce the writing of the premisses, a passage concerning an Apparition of Sir *George Villiers*, giving warning of his Sons (the Duke of *Buckingham*'s) Murder, is come into my Mind, which hath been assured by a Servant of the Duke's to be a great truth. Thus: Some few days before the Duke's going to *Portsmouth* (where he was stabbed by *Felton*) the Ghost of his Father, Sir *George Villiers*, appeared to one *Parker* (formerly his own Servant, but then Servant to the Duke) in his Morning Chamber Gown; charged *Parker* to tell his Son, that he should decline that Employment and Design he was going upon, or else he would certainly be Murdered. *Parker* promised the Apparition to do it, but neglected it. The Duke making preparations for his Expedition, the *Apparition* came again to *Parker*, taxing him very severely for his breach of Promise, and required him not to delay the acquainting his Son of the danger he was in. Then *Parker* the next day tells the Duke, that his Father's Ghost had twice appeared to him, and had commanded him to give him that warning. The Duke slighted it, and told him, he was an old Doting Fool. That night the *Apparition* came to *Parker* a third time, saying, *Parker*, thou hast done well in warning my Son of his danger, but though he will not yet believe thee, Go to him once more however, and tell him from me by such a Token (naming a private Token) which no body knows, but only he and I, that if he will not decline his Voyage, such a Knife as this is (pulling a long Knife out from under his Gown) will be his death. This Message *Parker* also delivered

delivered the next day to the Duke, who when he heard the private Token, believed that he had it from his Father's Ghost; yet said, that his Honour was now at stake, and he could not go back from what he had undertaken, come Life, come Death. This passage *Parker* after the Duke's murder, communicated to his Fellow Servant *Henry Ceeley*, who told it to a reverend Divine, a Neighbour of mine, from whose mouth I have it. This *Henry Ceeley* has not been dead above twenty years, and his Habitation, for several years before his Death, was at *North-Currey*, but three Miles from this place. My Friend, the Divine aforesaid, was an intimate acquaintance of this *Henry Ceeley*'s, and assures me, he was a person of known truth and integrity.

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This story I heard (but another name put for Parker*) with great assurance, and with larger circumstances, from a Person of Honour, but I shall content my self to note only what I find in a Letter of Mr.* Timothy Locket *of* Mongton, *to Mr.* Glanvil, *That this* Apparition *to Mr.* Parker *was all three times towards midnight, when he was reading in some Book, and he mentions, that the Duke's Expedition was for the relief of* Rochel. *The rest is much what as Mr.* Douch *has declared. But I will not omit the close of Mr.* Locket's *Letter. I was confirmed in the truth of the premisses,* saith he, *by Mr.* Henry Ceeley, *who was then a Servant with this Mr.* Parker, *to the Duke, and who told me, that he knew Mr.* Parker *to be a Religious and sober Person, and that every particular related, was to his knowledge true.*

RELAT. XII.

Of the appearing of Mr. Watkinson's *Ghost to his Daughter* Toppam, *contained in a Letter of Mrs.* Taylor *of the* Ford *by St.* Neots, *to Dr.* Ezekias Burton.

SIR,

MY Service to you and your Lady. Now, according to your desire, I shall write what my Cousin told me: Her name was *Mary Watkinson*, her Father did live in *Smithfield*, but she was married to one *Francis Toppam*, and she did live in *York*, with her Husband, being an ill one, who did steal her away against her Parents consent, so that they could not abide him. But she came often to them, and when she was last with him, upon their parting, she expressed, that she feared she should never see him more. He answered her, if he should dye, if ever God did permit the dead to see the living, he would see her again. Now after he had been buried about half a year, on a Night, when she was in Bed, but could not sleep, she heard Musick, and the Chamber grew lighter and lighter, and she being broad awake, saw her Father stand at her Bedside: Who said, *Mall*, did I not tell thee, that I would see thee once again? She called him Father, and talked of many things; and he bad her be Patient and Dutiful to her Mother. And when she told him that she had a Child since he did dye, he said, that would not trouble her long. He bad her speak what she would now to him, for he must go, and that he should never see her more till they met in the Kingdom of Heaven. So the Chamber grew darker and darker, and he was gone with Musick. And she said, that she did never dream of him, nor ever did see any Apparition of him after.

He was a very honest godly Man, as far as I can tell.

Adver-

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This story G. Rust, *who was after Bishop of* Dromore, *told me, I remember with great assurance, some Twenty years ago, who was not at all credulous in these things. And it was so as Mrs.* Taylor *relates to Dr.* Burton. *The next Relation shall be of a Daughter appearing to her Father.*

RELAT. XIII.

The appearing of the Ghost of the Daughter of Dr. Farrar, *to him after her death, according to a brief Narrative sent from Mr.* Edward Fowler *to Dr.* H. More, *Anno* 1678. *May* 11.

THis Week Mr. *Pearson*, who is a worthy good Minister of this City of *London*, told me, That his Wife's Grandfather, a Man of great Piety, and Physician to this present King, his name *Farrar*, nearly related (I think Brother) to the Famous Mr. *Farrar* of *Little-Giddon*, I say this Gentleman and his Daughter (Mrs. *Pearson*'s Mother, a very pious Soul) made a compact at his intreaty, that the first of them that died, if happy, should after death appear to the surviver, if it were possible; the Daughter with some difficulty consenting thereto.

Some time after, the Daughter who lived at *Gillingham*-Lodge, two Miles from *Salisbury*, fell in Labour, and by a mistake, being given a noxious Potion instead of another prepared for her, suddenly died.

Her Father lived in *London*, and that very Night she died, she opened his Curtains and looked upon him. He had before heard nothing of her illness, but upon this *Apparition* confidently told his Maid, that his Daughter was

was dead, and two days after received the news. Her Grandmother told Mrs. *Pearson* this, as also an Uncle of hers, and the abovesaid Maid, and this Mrs. *Pearson* I know, and she is a very prudent and good Woman.

RELAT. XIV.

The appearing of the Ghost of one Mr. Bower *of* Guilford, *to an Highway-man in Prison, as it is set down in a Letter of Dr.* Ezekias Burton *to Dr.* H. More.

About Ten years ago one Mr. *Bower* an antient Man living at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, was upon the Highway, not far from that place, found newly Murdered, very barbarously, having one great cut cross his Throat, and another down his Breast. Two Men were seized upon suspicion, and put into Gaol at *Guilford*, to another, who had before been committed for Robbing, as I suppose. That Night this third Man was awakened about one of the Clock, and greatly terrified with an old Man, who had a great gash cross his Throat, almost from Ear to Ear, and a wound down his Breast. He also came in stooping, and holding his hand on his back. Thus he appeared, but said nothing. The Thief calls to his two new Companions, they grumbled at him, but made no answer.

In the Morning he had retained so lively an impression of what he had seen, that he spoke to them to the same purpose again, and they told him it was nothing but his Phantasie. But he was so fully perswaded of the reality of the Apparition, that he told others of it, and it came to the Ears of my Friend Mr. *Reading*, Justice of Peace in *Surrey*, and Cousin to the Gentleman that was Murdered.

He immediately sent for the Prisoner, and asked him in the first place, whether he was born, or had lived

about

about *Guilford*? To which he anſwered, No. Secondly, He inquired if he knew any of the Inhabitants of that Town, or of the Neighbourhood? He replied, that he was a ſtranger to all thereabout. Then he enquired, if he had ever heard of one Mr. *Bower*? He ſaid, No. After this he examined him for what cauſe thoſe two other Men were Impriſoned? To which he anſwered, he knew not, but ſuppoſed for ſome Robbery.

After theſe preliminary Interrogatories, he deſired him to tell him what he had ſeen in the Night? Which he immediately did, exactly according to the Relation he had heard, and I gave before. And withal deſcribed the old Gentleman ſo by his picked Beard, and that he was, as he called it, rough on his Cheeks, and that the Hairs of his Face were black and white, that Mr. *Reading* ſaith, he himſelf could not have given a more exact deſcription of Mr. *Bower* than this was. He told the High-way-man that he muſt give him his Oath (though that would ſignifie little from ſuch a Rogue) to which the Man readily conſented, and took Oath before the Juſtice of all this.

Mr. *Reading* being a very diſcreet Man, concealed this ſtory from the Jury at the Aſſizes, as knowing that this would be no evidence according to our Law. However the Friends of the Murdered Gentleman had been very inquiſitive, and diſcovered ſeveral ſuſpicious circumſtances. One of which was, that thoſe two Men had waſhed their Cloths, and that ſome ſtains of blood remained. Another, that one of them had denied he ever heard that Mr. *Bower* was dead, when as he had in another place confeſt it two hours before. Upon theſe and ſuch like Evidences, thoſe two were Condemned and Executed, but denied it to the laſt. But one of them ſaid, the other could clear him if he would, which the By-ſtanders underſtood not.

After ſome time a Tinker was hanged (where, the Gentleman has forgot) who at his death ſaid, that the Murder of Mr. *Bower* of *Guilford* was his greateſt trouble.

For

For he had a hand in it; he confesseth he struck him a blow on the back which fetcht him from his Horse, and when he was down, those other Men that were Arraigned and Executed for it, cut his Throat, and rifled him. This is the first story which I had from Mr. *Reading* himself, who is a very honest prudent person, and not credulous.

I know you desire to have the Names of all the persons referred to in this Relation, and the exact time and place, but Mr. *Reading* cannot recollect them now, though he tells me he sent an exact and full Narrative of all to one Mr. *Onslow*, a Justice of Peace in that Neighbourhood, with whom I have some acquaintance, and I will endeavour to retrieve it.

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THE Names of all the Persons, and exact time and place of all the actions, I find not amongst Mr. Glanvil's *Papers, but the story is so perfect as it is, and so credible, that I thought it worthy of a place amongst the rest. And this appearing of Mr.* Bower, *is just such another thing as the appearing of* Anne Walker. *We proceed to the second story which Mr.* Reading *imparted to the Doctor.*

RE-

RELAT. XV.

Another appearing of a Ghost of a Man of Guilford, *for the recovery of a Field for his Child, unjustly detained by his Brother, out of the abovesaid Letter of Dr.* Ezekias Burton *to Dr.* H. More.

AN Inhabitant of the before-named Town of *Guilford*, who was possest of some Copyhold Land, which was to descend to his Children, or in default of such Issue to his Brother, dies, having no Child born. And his Wife apprehending her self not to be with Child (which her Husband's Brother asked her immediately after his Brother's death) she told him she believed she was not, but afterward proved to be. Which when she knew, she went, by the instigation of Neighbours, to her Brother, and told him how it was with her. He rated her called her Whore, and told her, that she had procured some body to get her with Child knowing that such a Field must be inherited by the Posterity of her Husband, but her Whoring should not fool him out of that Estate. The poor Woman went home troubled, that not only her Child should lose the Land, but which was worse, that she should be thought a Whore. However she quieted her self, and resolved to sit down with the loss.

When her time came, she was delivered of a Son he grew up, and one Summers Night, as she was undressing him in her Yard, her Husband appeared, and bid her go to his Brother and demand the Field. Which she did, but was treated very ill by him. He told her, that neither she nor her Devil (for she had told him her Husband appeared, and bid her speak to him) should make him forego his Land. Whereupon she went home again. But some time after, as her Brother was going out of this Field homeward, the dead Man appears to him at the stile, and bids him give up the Land to the Child, for

it was his right. The Brother being greatly frighted at this, runs away, and not long after comes to her and tells her, ſhe had ſent the Devil to him, and bids her take the Land, and ſo gave it up, and her Son is now poſſeſt of it. His Name is *Mat.* he lived in the Service of Mr. *Reading*'s Brother for ſome years, but he has forgot his Sir-name, though he knows him very well.

Advertiſement.

Though the Sir-name of the Party be wanting, yet he is determinated ſo by other Circumſtances, and the Story ſo freſh, and told by ſo credible a Perſon, that the Narrative is ſufficiently conſiderable, as it is. But of Recovery of Land to the right Owners, the Story of Mrs. Bretton'*s Ghoſt appearing, is an eximious Example, which is as follows.*

RELAT. XVI.

The appearing of the Ghoſt of Mrs. Bretton, *for the Recovery of ſome Lands into the Hands of the Poor, taken from them by ſome Miſtake in Law or Right, as it is in a Narrrative ſent to Dr.* H. More *from Mr.* Edward Fowler *Prebendary of* Glocester.

DR. *Bretton* late Rector of *Ludgate* and *Deptford*, lived formerly in *Herefordſhire*, and Married the Daughter of Dr. *S----* This Gentlewoman was a Perſon of extraordinary Piety, which ſhe expreſſed as in her Life, ſo at her Death. She had a Maid, that ſhe had a great kindneſs for, who was married to a near Neighbour, whoſe Name, as I remember, was *Alice.* Not long after her Death, as *Alice* was rocking her Infant

Infant in the Night, ſhe was called from the Cradle by a knocking at her Door, which opening, ſhe was ſurprized at the ſight of a Gentlewoman, not to be diſtinguiſhed from her late Miſtreſs, neither in Perſon nor Habit. She was in a Morning-Gown, the ſame in Appearance with that ſhe had often ſeen her Miſtreſs wear. At firſt ſight ſhe expreſſed very great amazement, and ſaid, Were not my Miſtreſs dead, I ſhould not queſtion but that you are ſhe. She replied I am the ſame that was your Miſtreſs, and took her by the hand. Which *Alice* affirmed was as cold as a Clod.

She added, That ſhe had Buſineſs of great Importance to imploy her in, and that ſhe muſt immediately go a little way with her. *Alice* trembled and beſeecht her to excuſe her, and intreated her very importunately to go to her Maſter, who muſt needs be more fit to be employed. She anſwered, that he who was her Husband, was not at all concerned, but yet ſhe had a Deſire rather to make uſe of him, and in order thereunto had ſeveral times been in his Chamber, but he was ſtill aſleep, nor had ſhe power to do more than once uncover his Feet towards the awakening of him. And the Doctor ſaid, that he had heard walking in his Chamber in the Night, which, till now, he could give no Account of. *Alice* next objected that her Husband was gone a Journey, and ſhe had no one to look to her Child, that it was very apt to cry vehemently, and ſhe feared if it awaked before her Return, it would cry it ſelf to death, or do it ſelf Miſchief. The Spectre replied, The Child ſhall ſleep till you return.

Alice ſeeing there was no avoiding it, ſorely againſt her will, followed her over a ſtyle into a large Field, who then ſaid to her, obſerve how much of this Field I meaſure with my Feet. And when ſhe had taken a good large and leiſurely Compaſs, ſhe ſaid, all this belongs to the Poor, it being gotten from them by wrongful means, and charged her to go and tell her Brother, whoſe it was at that time, that he ſhould

give it up to the Poor again forthwith, as he loved her and his deceaſed Mother. This Brother was not the Perſon who did this unjuſt act, but his Father. She added, that ſhe was the more concerned, becauſe her Name was made uſe of in ſome Writing that related to this Land.

Alice askt her how ſhe ſhould ſatisfie her Brother that this was no Cheat, or Deluſion of her Fancy. She replied, tell him this Secret, which he knows that only himſelf and I are privy to, and he will believe you. *Alice* having promiſed her to go on this Errand, ſhe proceeded to give her good Advice, and entertained her all the reſt of the Night, with moſt heavenly and divine Diſcourſe. When the Twilight appeared they heard the whiſtling of Carters, and the noiſe of Horſe-Bells. Whereupon the Spectre ſaid, *Alice*, I muſt be ſeen by none but your ſelf, and ſo ſhe diſappeared.

Immediately *Alice* makes all haſte home, being thoughtful for her Child, but found it as the Spectre had ſaid, aſleep as ſhe left it. When ſhe had dreſſed it, and committed it to the care of a Neighbour, away ſhe went to her Maſter the Doctor, who amazed at the account ſhe gave him, ſent her to his Brother-in-Law. He at firſt hearing *Alice*'s Story and Meſſage, laughed at it heartily: But ſhe had no ſooner told him the ſecret, but he changed his countenance, told her he would give the Poor their own, and accordingly he did it, and they now enjoy it.

This with more circumſtances hath ſeveral times been related by Dr. *Britton* himſelf, who was well known to be a perſon of great goodneſs and ſincerity. He gave a large Narrative of this Apparition of his Wife to two of my Friends. Firſt, to one Mrs. *Needham*, and afterwards, a little before his Death to Dr. *Whichcot*.

Some years after I received the foregoing Narrative (*viz.* near four years ſince) I light into the Company of three ſober perſons of good Rank, who all lived in the City of *Hereford*, and I travelled in a Stage-Coach three

three days with them. To them I happened to tell this ſtory, but told it was done at *Deptford*, for ſo I preſumed it was, becauſe I knew that there Dr. *Bretton* lived. They told me as ſoon as I had concluded it, that the ſtory was very true in the main, only I was out as to the place. For 'twas not *Deptford*, but as I remember they told me *Pembridge* near *Hereford*, where the Doctor was Miniſter before the Return of the King. And they aſſured me upon their own knowledge, that to that day the Poor enjoyed the piece of Ground. They added, That Mrs. *Bretton*'s Father could never endure to hear any thing mentioned of his Daughters appearing after her death, but would ſtill reply in great anger, that it was not his Daughter, but it was the Devil. So that he acknowledged that ſomething appeared in the likeneſs of his Daughter.

This is atteſted by me this 16*th* of *Febr.* 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

Edward Fowler.

RELAT. XVII.

Of a Dutch *Man that could ſee Ghoſts, and of the Ghoſt he ſaw in the Town of* Woodbridge *in* Suffolk.

MR. *Broom* the Miniſter of *Woodbridge* in *Suffolk*, meeting one day, in a Barber's Shop in that Town, a *Dutch* Lieutenant (who was blown up with *Opdam*, and taken alive out of the Water, and carried to that Town, where he was a Priſoner at large) upon the occaſion of ſome diſcourſe was told by him, that he could ſee Ghoſts, and that he had ſeen divers. Mr. *Broom* rebuking him for talking ſo idly, he perſiſted in it very ſtifly. Some days after lighting upon him again, he askt him whether he had ſeen any Ghoſt ſince his

coming to that Town. To which he replyed, No.

But not long after this, as they were walking together up the Town, he ſaid to Mr. *Broom*, Yonder comes a Ghoſt. He ſeeing nothing, askt him whereabout it was? The other ſaid, it is over againſt ſuch a Houſe, and it walks looking upwards towards ſuch a ſide, flinging one Arm with a Glove in its hand. He ſaid moreover, that when it came near them, they muſt give way to it. That he ever did ſo, and ſome that have not done ſo, have ſuffered for it. Anon he ſaid, 'Tis juſt upon us, let's out of the way. Mr. *Broom* believing all to be a Fiction, as ſoon as he ſaid thoſe words, took hold of his Arm, and kept him by force in the way. But as he held him, there came ſuch a force againſt them, that he was flung into the middle of the ſtreet, and one of the Palms of his hands, and one Knee bruiſed and broken by the fall, which put him for a while to exceſſive pain.

But ſpying the Lieutenant lye like a dead Man, he got up as ſoon as he could, and applied himſelf to his relief. With the help of others he got him into the next Shop, where they poured ſtrong-water down his Throat, but for ſome time could diſcern no Life in him. At length, what with the Strong-water, and what with well chafing him he began to ſtir, and when he was come to himſelf, his firſt words were, I will ſhew you no more Ghoſts. Then he deſired a Pipe of Tobacco, but Mr. *Broom* told him, he ſhould take it at his Houſe; for he feared, ſhould he take it ſo ſoon there, it would make him ſick.

Thereupon they went together to Mr. *Broom*'s Houſe, where they were no ſooner entring in, but the Bell rang out. Mr. *Broom* preſently ſent his Maid to learn who was dead. She brought word that it was ſuch an One, a Taylor, who dyed ſuddenly, though he had been in a Conſumption a long time. And inquiring after the time of his death, they found it was as punctually as it could be gueſſed at the very time when the Ghoſt appeared.

peared. The Ghost had exactly this Taylor's known Gate, who ordinarily went also with one Arm swinging, and a Glove in that hand, and looking on one side upwards.

Advertisement.

THis *Relation was sent to Dr.* H. More *from Mr.* Edw. Fowler; *at the End whereof he writes, that Dr.* Burton *as well as himself, heard it from Mr.* Broom'*s own mouth. And I can add, that I also afterwards heard it from his own mouth at* London.

RELAT. XVIII.

An Irish *Story of one that had like to have been carried away by Spirits, and of the Ghost of a Man who had been seven Years dead, that brought a Medicine to the abovesaid Party's Bed-side.*

A Gentleman in *Ireland* near to the Earl of *Orory's*, sending his Butler one afternoon to buy Cards; as he passed a Field, he, to his wonder, espyed a Company of People, sitting round a Table, with a deal of good Chear before them, in the midst of the Field. And he going up towards them, they all arose and saluted him, and desired him to sit down with them. But one of them whispering these words in his Ear; *Do nothing this Company invites you to.* He thereupon refused to sit down at the Table, and immediately Table and all that belonged to it were gone. And the Company are now dancing and playing upon Musical Instruments. And the Butler being desired to join himself to them, but he refusing this also, they fall all to work, and he not being to be prevailed with to accompany them in

Working, any more than in Feasting or Dancing, they all disappeared, and the Butler is now alone. But instead of going forwards, home he returns as fast as he could drive, in a great consternation of Mind. And was no sooner entered his Master's door, but down he falls, and lay some time senseless, but coming to himself again, he related to his Master what had happened to him.

The night following, there comes one of this Company to his Bed-side, and tells him, that if he offered to stir out of doors the next day, he would be carried away. Hereupon he kept within, but towards the Evening, having need to make water, he adventured to put one Foot over the Threshold, several standing by. Which he had no sooner done, but they espyed a Rope cast about his middle, and the Poor Man was hurried away with great Swiftness, they following after him as fast as they could, but could not overtake him. At length they espyed a Horseman coming towards them, and made signs to him to stop the Man, whom he saw coming near him, and both ends of the Rope, but no body drawing. When they met, he laid hold on one end of the Rope, and immediately had a smart Blow given him over his Arm with the other End. But by this means the Man was stopt, and the Horseman brought him back with him.

The Earl of *Orory* hearing of these strange Passages, sent to the Master to desire him to send this Man to his House, which he accordingly did. And the Morning following, or quickly after, he told the Earl that his Spectre had been with him again, and assured him that that day he should most certainly be carried away, and that no Endeavours should avail to the saving of him. Upon this he was kept in a large Room, with a considerable number of Persons to guard him, among whom was the famous Stroker, Mr. *Greatrix*, who was a Neighbour. There were besides other Persons of Quality, two Bishops in the House at the same time, who were

were consulted touching the making use of a Medicine the Spectre or Ghost prescribed, of which, mention will be made anon, but they determined on the Negative. But this by the By.

Till part of the Afternoon was spent all was quiet, but at length he was perceived to rise from the Ground, whereupon Mr. *Greatrix* and another lusty Man clapt their Arms over his Shoulders, one of them before him, and the other behind, and weighed him down with all their strength. But he was forcibly taken up from them, and they were too weak to keep their hold, and for a considerable time he was carried in the Air to and fro over their Heads, several of the Company still running under him to prevent his being hurt if he should fall. At length he fell, and was caught before he came to Ground, and had by that Means no hurt.

All being quiet till Bed-time, My Lord ordered two of his Servants to lie with him, and the next Morning he told his Lordship, that his Spectre was again with him, and brought a Wooden Dish with grey Liquor in it, and bad him drink it off. At the first sight of the Spectre, he said he endeavoured to awake his Bedfellows, but it told him that that Endeavour should be in vain, and that he had no Cause to fear him, he being his Friend, and he that at first gave him the good Advice in the Field, which had he not followed, he had been, before now, perfectly in the Power of the Company he saw there. He added that he concluded it was impossible, but that he should have been carried away the day before, there being so strong a Combination against him. But now he would assure him that there would be no more attempts of that nature, but he being troubled with two sorts of sad Fits, he had brought that liquor to cure him of them, and bad him drink it. He peremptorily refusing, the Spectre was angry, upbraided him with great disingenuity, but told him, that however he had a kindness for him, and that if he would take Plantain juice he should be well of

one

one sort of Fits, but he should carry the other to his Grave. The poor Man having by this time somewhat recovered himself, ask't the Spectre, whether by the juice of Plantain he meant that of the Leaves or Roots? It replied, the Roots.

Then it askt him, whether he did not know him? He answered, No. He replied, I am such a one? The Man answered: He hath been long dead. I have been dead said the Spectre or Ghost, seven years, and you know that I lived a loose life. And ever since have I been hurried up and down in a restless Condition with the Company you saw, and shall be to the day of Judgment. Then he proceeded to tell him, that had he acknowledged God in his ways, he had not suffered such severe things by their means. And further said, you never prayed to God that day before you met with this Company in the Field, and also was then going about an unlawful business, and so vanisht.

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This story was also sent from Mr. E. Fowler *to Dr.* H. More, *concerning which he further adds, by way of Postscript that Mr.* Greatrix *told this story to Mrs.* Foxcraft *at* Ragley, *and at her request he told it a second time in her hearing at the Table. My Lady* Roydon *being then present, inquired afterwards concerning it of my Lord* Orory, *who confirmed the truth of it, acknowledging all the circumstances of this Narrative to my Lady* Roydon *to be true, except that passage, That the Spectre told the Man that he was that day going about an unlawful business. And Mr.* Fowler *further adds, that since an eminent Doctor in this City told me, that my Lord told him, that he saw at his own House a Man taken up into the Air.*

Lastly, I find Dr. H. More *in a Letter to Mr.* Glanvil, *affirming, that he also heard Mr.* Greatrix *tell the story at my*

my Lord Conway's *at* Ragley, *and that he particularly inquired of Mr.* Greatrix *about the mans being carried up into the Air above mens heads in the Room, and that he did expresly affirm that he was an Eye-witness thereof.*

RELAT. XIX.

The miraculous Cure of Jesch Claes *a Dutch Woman of* Amsterdam, *accompanied with an* Apparition.

THE Narrative taken by a Dutch Merchant from her own Mouth, begins thus. A miraculous Cure upon *Jesch Claes*, a Woman about fifty years of Age: For this many years well known to my self and the Neighbours. This Woman for fourteen years had been lame of both Legs, one of them being dead and without feeling, so that she could not go but creep upon the ground, or was carried in Peoples Arms as a Child, but now through the power of God Almighty she hath walked again. Which came to pass after this manner, as I have taken it from her own Mouth.

In the year 1676. about the 13*th* or 14*th* of this Month *October*, in the Night, between one and two of the Clock, this *Jesch Claes* being in Bed with her Husband, who was a Boatman, she was three times pulled by her Arm, with which she awaked and cryed out, O Lord! What may this be? Hereupon she heard an answer in plain words: Be not afraid, I come in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Your malady, which hath for many years been upon you, shall cease, and it shall be given you from God Almighty to walk again. But keep this to your self till further answer. Whereupon she cried aloud, O Lord! That I had a light, that I might know what this is. Then had she this answer, There needs no light, the light shall be given you from God. Then came light all over the Room, and she saw a beautiful Youth, about ten years of Age, with Curled

Yellow

Yellow Hair Clothed in White to the Feet, who went from the Beds-head to the Chimney with a light, which a little after vaniſhed. Hereupon did there ſhoot ſomething, or guſh from her Hip, or diffuſe it ſelf through her Leg as a Water into her great Toe, where ſhe did find life riſing up, felt it with her hand, crying out, Lord, give me now again my feeling which I have not had in ſo many years. And further ſhe continued crying and praying to the Lord, according to her weak meaſure.

Yet ſhe continued that day *Wedneſday*, and the next day *Thurſday*, as before till Evening at ſix a Clock. At which time ſhe ſate at the Fire dreſſing the food. Then came as like a ruſhing noiſe in both her Ears, with which it was ſaid to her *Stand*. Your going is given you again. Then did ſhe immediately ſtand up that had ſo many years crept, and went to the door. Her Husband meeting her, being exceedingly afraid, drew back. In the mean while ſhe cryed out, My dear Husband, I can go again. The Man thinking it was a Spirit, drew back, ſaying, You are not my Wife. His Wife taking hold of him, ſaid, My dear Husband, I am the ſelf ſame that hath been Married theſe Thirty years to you. The Almighty God hath given my going again. But her Husband being amazed, drew back to the ſide of the Room, till at laſt ſhe claſpt her Hand about his Neck, and yet he doubted, and ſaid to his Daughter, is this your Mother? She anſwered, yes, Father, this we plainly ſee. I had ſeen her go alſo before you came in. This Perſon dwells upon *Princes Iſland* in *Amſterdam*.

Advertiſement.

This account was ſent from a Dutch *Merchant, procured by a Friend for Dr.* R. Cudworth, *and contains the main Particulars that occur in the Dutch Printed Narrative,*

rative, which Monsieur Van Helmont *brought over with him to my Lady* Conway *at* Ragley, *who, having inquired upon the Spot when he was there at* Amsterdam, *though of a Genius not at all credulous of such Relations, found the thing to be really true. As also* Philippus Limbergius *in a Letter to Dr.* H. More, *sent this Testimony touching the party cured, That she was always reputed a very honest good Woman, and that he believed there was no fraud at all in the business.*

RELAT. XX.

An House haunted some Thirty years ago, or more, at or near Bow, *not far from* London, *and strangely disturbed by* Dæmons *and* Witches.

A Certain Gentleman about Thirty years ago, or more, being to Travel from *London* into *Essex*, and to pass through *Bow*, at the request of a Friend he called at a House there, which began then to be a little disquieted. But not any thing much remarkable yet, unless of a young Girl, who was pluckt by the Thigh by a cold Hand in her Bed, who died within a fews days after.

Some Weeks after this, his occasions calling him back, he passed by the same House again, but had no design to give them a new visit, he having done that not long before. But it happening that the Woman of the House stood at the door, he thought himself engaged to ride to her and ask how she did? To whom she answered with a sorrowful Countenance; That though she was in tolerable health, yet things went very ill with them, their House being extreamly haunted, especially above stairs, so that they were forced to keep in the low Rooms, there was such flinging of things up and down, of Stones and Bricks through the Windows, and putting all in disorder. But he could scarce forbear laughing at her,

her, giving ſo little credit to ſuch ſtories himſelf, and thought it was the tricks only of ſome unhappy Wags to make ſport to themſelves and trouble to their Neighbours.

Well ſays ſhe, if you will but ſtay a while you may chance to ſee ſomething with your own Eyes. And indeed he had not ſtayed any conſiderable time with her in the Street, but a Window of an upper Room opened of it ſelf (for they of the Family took it for granted no body was above ſtairs) and out comes a piece of an old Wheel through it. Whereupon it preſently clapt to again. A little while after it ſuddenly flew open again, and out come a Brick-bat, which inflamed the Gentleman with a more eager deſire to ſee what the matter was, and to diſcover the Knavery. And therefore he boldly reſolved, if any one would go up with him, he would into the Chamber. But none preſent durſt accompany him. Yet the keen deſire of diſcovering the Cheat, made him adventure by himſelf alone into that Room. Into which when he was come, he ſaw the Bedding, Chairs and Stools, and Candleſticks, and Bedſtaves, and all the Furniture rudely ſcattered on the Floor, but upon ſearch found no mortal in the Room.

Well! he ſtays there a while to try concluſions, anon a Bedſtaff begins to move, and turn it ſelf round a good while together upon its Toe, and at laſt fairly to lay it ſelf down again. The curious Spectator, when he had obſerved it to lie ſtill a while, ſteps out to it, views it whether any ſmall String or Hair were tied to it, or whether there were any hole or button to faſten any ſuch String to, or any hole or ſtring in the Ceiling above; but after ſearch, he found not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch thing.

He retires to the Window again, and obſerves a little longer what may fall out. Anon, another Bedſtaff riſes off from the ground of its own accord, higher into the air, and ſeems to make towards him. He now begins to think there was ſomething more than ordinary in the

buſineſs,

busineſs, and preſently makes to the door with all ſpeed, and for better caution ſhuts it after him. Which was preſently opened again, and ſuch a clatter of Chairs, and Stools, and Candleſticks, and Bedſtaves, ſent after him down Stairs, as if they intended to have maimed him, but their motion was ſo moderated, that he received no harm; but by this time he was abundantly aſſured, that it was not meer Womaniſh fear or ſuperſtition that ſo affrighted the Miſtreſs of the Houſe. And while in a low Room he was talking with the Family about theſe things, he ſaw a Tobacco-Pipe riſe from a ſide-Table, no body being nigh, and fly to the other ſide of the Room, and break it ſelf againſt the Wall for his further confirmation, that it was neither the tricks of Waggs, nor the fancy of a Woman, but the mad frolicks of Witches and Dæmons. Which they of the Houſe being fully perſwaded of, roaſted a Bedſtaff, upon which an Old Woman, a ſuſpected Witch, came to the Houſe, and was apprehended, but eſcaped the Law. But the Houſe after was ſo ill haunted in all the Rooms, upper and lower, that the Houſe ſtood empty for a long time after.

Advertiſement.

This Story is found amongſt Mr. Glanvil'*s Papers, written to him from Dr.* H More, *who ſays, ſome three Months before he had received it from the parties own mouth, that was at the haunted Houſe in* Bow, *and ſaw the motion of the Bedſtaves and Tobacco-pipe*, &c. *And I very well remember, that about Thirty or Forty years ago, there was a great fame of an houſe haunted at* Bow, *and ſuch like feats as this Spectator ſaw, was rumoured of it, and the time agrees with that of this Spectator or Eye-witneſs of the above-recited Feats. And a Book was then ſaid to be Printed, though I never ſaw any but one of late without any date*

date of the year, the things then being in Fieri, *when it was Printed. And they ſeem to refer to the ſame haunted place, though the Pamphlet names* Plaiſto *for* Bow. *But whether* Bow *was talked of inſtead of* Plaiſto, *it being a place near, and of more note, I know not. And* Paul Fox *a Weaver, was the Man whoſe Houſe was haunted in* Plaiſto *according to that Pamphlet.*

If the Gentleman that ſo well remembers the ſtrange things he ſaw, had not forgot the Man's name whoſe Houſe was haunted (and the ſtrangeneſs of thoſe things would fix themſelves in his memory, even whether he would or no, when the name of the Maſter of the Houſe might eaſily, in Thirty or Forty years time ſlide out of it) we might be ſure whether it were Plaiſto *or* Bow. *But I am ſure the fame went of* Bow, *though the Pamphlet name* Plaiſto, *and that might make the abovesaid Party, who told Dr.* More *the Story, fix the Scene without all ſcruple in* Bow.

But methinks I hear the Reader complain, that it was a great Omiſſion in Mr. Glanvil, *that he did not inquire of Dr.* More *who this party was that told him the Story, it ſeeming an headleſs piece without that part. Wherefore I find in a Paper (whoſe Title is Doctor* More's Particulars about the Stories) *theſe words in anſwer to Mr.* Glanvil, *That it is Dr.* Gibbs, *a Prebendary of* Weſtminſter, *and a ſober intelligent perſon. And ſome dozen lines after, Dr.* More *ſays, Dr.* Gibbs *told the Story to my ſelf, and to Dr.* Outram, *who brought me to him. And I have told you already, that he is a perſon of underſtanding and integrity. He has alſo ſome Sermons in Print as I take it.*

But foraſmuch as it was about three months after Dr. More *had received this account of the Story from Dr.*Gibbs, *that he wrote to Mr.* Glanvil, *it is not to be expected that he related it in the very ſame words, and in every punctilio as he heard it. But I dare undertake for him, that for the main, and that which makes to the evincing of Witchcraft, and the ludicrous feats of Dæmons, that he hath committed no errour therein, nor ſet down any thing whoſe ſubſtance was not related to him by the Reverend Dr.* Gibbs.

RE-

RELAT. XXI.

Mr. Jermin's *ſtory of an Houſe haunted, and what diſturbance himſelf was a Witneſs of there, at a viſit of his Wife's Siſter.*

ONE Mr. *Jermin*, Miniſter of *Bigner* in *Suſſex*, going to ſee a Siſter of his Wife's, found her very Melancholy, and asking her the reaſon, ſhe replyed, You ſhall know to Morrow Morning. When he went to Bed, there were two Maids accompanied him in his Chamber, and the next day he underſtood that they durſt not go into any Room in the Houſe alone.

In the Night, while he was in his Bed, he heard the trampling of many Feet upon the Leads over his head, and after that, the going off of a Gun, upon which followed a great ſilence. Then they came ſwiftly down Stairs into his Chamber, where they fell a wreſtling and tumbling each other down, and ſo continued a great while. After they were quiet, they fell a whiſpering, and made a great buzz, of which he could underſtand nothing. Then one called at the door, and ſaid, *Day is broke, come away.* Upon which they ran up Stairs as faſt as they could drive, and ſo heard no more of them.

In the Morning his Brother and Siſter came in to him, and ſhe ſaid, Now, Brother, you know why I am ſo Melancholy, after ſhe had askt him how he had ſlept, and he had anſwered, I never reſted worſe in my life, having been diſturbed a great part of the night with tumblings and noiſes. She complained that her Husband would force her to live there, notwithſtanding their being continually ſcared. Whereto the Husband anſwered, Their Diſturbers never did them any other miſchief.

At Dinner they had a Phyſician with them, who was an acquaintance. Mr. *Jermin* diſcourſing about this diſturbance, the Phyſician alſo anſwered, that never any

hurt was done, of which he gave this instance: That Dining there one day, there came a Man on Horseback into the Yard in Mourning. His Servant went to know what was his business, and found him sitting very Melancholy, nor could he get any answer from him. The Master of the House and the Physician went forth to see who it was. Upon which the Man clapt Spurs to his Horse, and rode into the House up Stairs into a long Gallery, whither the Physician followed him, and saw him vanish in a Fire at the upper end of the Gallery. But though none of the Family receiv'd hurt at any time, yet Mr. *Jermin* fell into a Fever with the disturbance he experienced, that endangered his Life.

Advertisement.

MR. Scot *and his Wife heard this Narrative from Mr.* Jermin'*s own mouth. And I also have heard it from Mr.* Scot, *who is a Minister of* London, *and the Author of a late excellent good Treatise, which is entitled,* The Christian Life, *&c.*

RELAT. XXII.

Contained in a Letter of Mr. G. Clarke, *to Mr.* M. T. *touching a House haunted in* Welton *near* Daventry.

SIR,

I Send you here a Relation of a very memorable piece of Witchcraft, as I suppose, which would fit Mr. *More* gallantly. I first heard the story related to Sir *Justinian Isham*, by a Reverend Minister, of his own experience. Sir *Justinian* would have had me gone to the place, which I could not then do. But a little after going to visit a Friend, and not thinking of this, my Friend told

told me the ſtory, the place being near him, and the principal Man concerned in the ſtory, being a Relation of his, and one that I my ſelf had ſome acquaintance with. He had occaſion to go to this Man's Houſe for ſome Deeds of Land, and I went with him for ſatisfaction touching this ſtory, which I had to the full, and in which I could not but acquieſce, though otherwiſe I am very chary, and hard enough to believe paſſages of this nature.

The Story is this, At *Welton* within a Mile of *Daventry* in *Northamptonſhire*, where live together *Widow Cowley*, the Grandmother, *Widow Stiff* the Mother, and her two Daughters. At the next Houſe but one, lives another *Widow Cowley*, Siſter to the former *Widow Cowley*, *Moſes Cowley* my acquaintance her Son, and *Moſes* his Wife, having a good Eſtate in Land of their own, and very civil and orderly people. Theſe three told me, that the younger of the two Daughters, ten years of age, vomited in leſs than three days, three Gallons of Water to their great Admiration. After this the elder Wench comes running, and tells them, that now her Siſter begins to vomit Stones and Coals. They went and were Eye-witneſſes, told them till they came to Five hundred. Some weighed a quarter of a pound, and were ſo big, as they had enough to do to get them out of her mouth, and he profeſſed to me, that he could ſcarce get the like into his mouth, and I do not know how any one ſhould, if they were ſo big as he ſhewed the like to me. I have ſent you one, but not a quarter ſo big as ſome of them were. It was one of the biggeſt of them that were left and kept in a Bag. This Vomiting laſted about a Fortnight, and hath Witneſſes good ſtore.

In the mean time they threw hards of Flax upon the Fire, which would not blaze though blown, but dwindled away. The Bed-cloths would be thrown off the Bed. *Moſes Cowley* told me, that he laid them on again ſeveral times, they all coming out of the Room, and go but

into the Parlour again, and they were off again. And a ſtrike of Wheat ſtanding at the Beds feet, ſet it how they would, it would be thrown down again. Once the Coffers and things were ſo tranſpoſed, as they could ſcarce ſtir about the Room. Once he laid the Bible upon the Bed, but the Cloths were thrown off again, and the Bible hid in another Bed. And when they were all gone into the Parlour, as they uſed to go together, then things would be tranſpoſed in the Hall, their Wheel taken in pieces, and part of it thrown under the Table. In their Buttery their Milk would be taken off the Table, and ſet on the ground, and once one Panchion was broken, and the Milk ſpilt. A ſeven pound weight, with a Ring, was hung upon the Spigot, and the Beer mingled with Sand, and all ſpoiled, their Salt mingled moſt perfectly with Bran.

Moſes his Mother ſaid that their Flax was thrown out of a Box, ſhe put it in again, it was thrown out again; ſhe put it in again, and lockt the Box, trying by the Haſp or Lid (as they uſe to do) whether it was faſt; it was ſo. But as ſoon as her back was turned, the Box was unlocked, and the Flax was thrown out again. *Moſes* ſaid, that when he was coming out of the Parlour, he ſaw a Loaf of Bread tumbling off the Form, and that was the firſt thing he ſaw. After, a Womans Patten roſe up in the Houſe, and was thrown at them. He heard the Comb break in the Window, and preſently it flew at them in two pieces. A Knife roſe up in the Window, and flew at a Man, hitting him with the Haſt. An Ink-glaſs was thrown out of the Window into the Floor, and by and by the ſtopple came after it. Then every day abundance of Stones were thrown about the Houſe which broke the Windows, and hat the People, but they were the leſs troubled, becauſe all this while no hurt was done to their Perſons, and a great many People being in the Room, the Wheat was thrown about amongſt them.

I was in the Houſe where I ſaw the Windows which were

were ſtill broken, and the People themſelves ſhewed me where the ſeveral particulars were done. The Grandmother told me, that ſhe thought ſhe had loſt half a ſtrike of Wheat, and the like happened to ſome Fitches in the Barn. One Mr. *Robert Clark*, a Gentleman, being hat with the Stones, bad the Baker at the Door look to his Bread well, and by and by a handful of crums were thrown into his Lap. They could ſee the things as they came, but no more.

At laſt ſome that had been long ſuſpected for Witches were Examined, and one ſent to the Gaol, where it is ſaid ſhe plays her pranks, but that is of doubtful credit. I asked the Old Woman whether they were free now. She ſaid, that one Night ſince, they heard great knockings, and cruel noiſe, which ſcared them worſe than all the reſt, and once or twice that Week, her Cheeſe was crumbled into pieces, and ſpoiled. I was there about *May-day*, 1658. This is all that I remember at preſent. I have heard ſeveral other ſtories, and two or three notable ones lately from Mens own Experience, which in reaſon I was to believe as I did. But in my Judgment this outgoes all that I know of, it having ſo much of ſenſe, and of the day time, ſo many and ſo credible Witneſſes beyond all cavil and exception. I will trouble you no further, but commending you to the protection of God Almighty, I take my leave and reſt

Yours,

Coddington, May 22th 1658.

G. *Clark*.

RELAT. XXIII.

The Relation of James Sherring, *taken concerning the matter at Old* Gast'*s House of little* Burton, *June* 23. 1677. *as follows.*

THE first Night that I was there with *Hugh Mellmore* and *Edward Smith*, they heard as it were the washing in water over their heads. Then taking a Candle and going up the Stairs, there was a wet Cloth thrown at them, but it fell on the Stairs. They going up farther then, there was another thrown as before. And when they came up into the Chamber, there stood a bowl of Water, some of it sprinkled over, and the Water looked white as if there had been Sope used in it. The Bowl just before was in the Kitchin, and could not be carried up but through the Room where they were. The next thing that they heard the same Night, was a terrible noise as if it had been a flat of Thunder, and shortly after they heard great scratching about the Bedsted, and after that a great knocking with a Hammer against the Beds-Head, so that the two Maids that were in the Bed, cryed out for help. Then they ran up the Stairs, and there lay the Hammer on the Bed, and on the Beds-head there were near a thousand prints of the Hammer which the violent strokes had made. The Maids said, that they were scratched and pinched with a hand that was put into the Bed which had exceeding long Nails. They said that the Hammer was lockt up fast in the Cupboard when they went to Bed. This was that which was done the first Night, with many other things of the like nature.

The second Night that *James Sherring* and *Tho. Hillary* were there, *James Sherring* sat down in the Chimney to fill a Pipe of Tobacco. He made use of the Fire-Tongs to take up a Coal to fire his Pipe, and by and by the Tongs were drawn up the Stairs, and after they were

were up in the Chamber, they were played withal as many times Men do, and then thrown down upon the Bed. Although the Tongs were ſo near him, he never perceived the going of them away. The ſame Night one of the Maids left her Shoes by the Fire, and they were carried up into the Chamber, and the Old Man's brought down and ſet in their places. The ſame Night there was a Knife carried up into the Chamber, and it did ſcratch and ſcrape the Beds-head all the Night, but when they went up into the Chamber, the Knife was thrown into the Loft. As they were going up the Stairs, there were things thrown at them, which were juſt before in the low Room, and when they went down the Stairs, the Old Man's Breeches were thrown down after them. Theſe were the moſt remarkable things done that Night, only there was continual knocking and pinching the Maids, which was uſually done every Night.

The third Night, when *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillary* were there, as ſoon as the People were gone to Bed, their Cloths were taken and thrown at the Candle, and put it out, and immediately after they cried out with a very hideous cry and ſaid, they ſhould be all choaked if they were not preſently helped. Then they ran up the Stairs and there were abundance of Feathers plucked out of the Bolſter that lay under their Heads, and ſome thruſt into their Mouths that they were almoſt choaked. The Feathers were thrown all about the Bed and Room. They were plucked out at a hole no bigger than the top of ones little Finger. Some time after they were vexed with a very hideous knocking at their heads as they lay on the Bed. Then *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillary* took the Candle and went up Stairs, and ſtood at the Beds Feet, and the knocking continued. Then they ſaw a Hand with an Arm-wriſt hold the Hammer which kept on knocking againſt the Bedſted. Then *James Sherring* going towards the Beds-head, the Hand and Hammer fell down behind the Bolſter and could not be

found. For they turned up the Bed-cloths to ſearch for the Hammer. But as ſoon as they went down the Stairs the Hammer was thrown out into the middle of the Chamber. Theſe were the moſt remarkable things that were done that Night.

The fourth and fifth Nights, there was but little done more than knocking and ſcratching as was uſually.

The ſixth and ſeventh Nights, there was nothing at all but as quiet as at other Houſes. Theſe were all the Nights that they were there.

The things that do follow are what *James Sherring* heard the People of the Houſe report.

There was a Saddle in the Houſe of their Uncle *Warren*'s of *Leigh*, (which it ſhould ſeem they detained wrongfully from the right Owner) that, as it did hang upon a Pin in the Entry, would come off and come into the Houſe, and as they termed it, hop about the Houſe from one place to another, and upon the Table, and ſo to another, which ſtood on the other ſide of the Houſe. *Jane Gaſt* and her Kinſwoman, took this Saddle and carried it to *Leigh*, and as they were going along in the broad Common, there would be Sticks and Stones thrown at them, which made them very much afraid, and going near together, their Whittles which were on their Shoulders were knit together. They carried the Saddle to the Houſe which was Old *Warren*'s, and there left it, and returned home very quiet. But being gone to Bed at Night, the Saddle was brought back from *Leigh*, (which is a Mile and a half at leaſt from Old *Gaſt*'s Houſe) and thrown upon the Bed where the Maids lay. After that, the Saddle was very troubleſome to them, until they broke it in ſmall pieces and threw it out into the Highway.

There was a Coat of the ſame Parties, who was Owner of the Saddle, which did hang on the Door in the Hall, and it came off from the place and flew into the fire, and lay ſome conſiderable time, before they could get it out. For it was as much as three of them could

could do to pluck it out of the fire, becauſe of the ponderous weight that lay on it, as they thought. Nevertheleſs there was no impreſſion on it of the fire.

Old *Gaſt* ſat at Dinner with a Hat of this old *Warren*'s on his Head, and there was ſomething came and ſtruck it off into the Diſh where his Meat was.

There was a Pole which ſtood in the backſide, about 14 or 15 foot in length, which was brought into the Houſe, and carried up into the Chamber, and thrown on the Bed; but all the Wit they had could not get it out of the Chamber, becauſe of its length, until they took down a light of the Window. They report, that the things in the Houſe were thrown about and broken, to their great damage.

One night there were two of this old *Gaſt* his Grand-daughters in Bed together, they were aged, one of them about twelve or thirteen years, and the other about ſixteen or ſeventeen. They ſaid, that they felt a hand in Bed with them, which they bound up in the Sheet, and took Bedſtaves and beat it until it was as ſoft as Wooll, then they took a ſtone which lay in the Chamber, about a quarter of an hundred weight, and put on it, and were quiet all the Night. In the Morning they found it as they left it the night before. Then the eldeſt of the Maids ſware that ſhe would burn the Devil, and goes and fetches a Fuz Faggot to burn it, but when ſhe came again, the Stone was thrown away, and the Cloth was found wet.

There were many other things which are too long and tedious to write, it would take up a great deal of time.

This which follows is the Relation of *Jone Winſor* of long *Burton*, ſhe being there three Nights, taken the Third day of *July* 1677.

She heard or ſaw nothing as long as the Candle did burn, but as ſoon as it was out, there was ſomething which did ſeem to fall down by the Bed-ſide, and by and by it began to lay on the Beds-head with a Staff, and did ſtrike *Jone Winſor* on the Head. She put forth her Hand

Hand and caught it, but was not able to hold it faſt. She got out of the Bed to light a Candle, and there was a great Stone thrown after her, but it miſſed her. When the Candle was lighted, they aroſe and went down to the Fire. One of them went up to fetch the Bed-cloaths to make a Bed by the Fire, and there lay a Heap of Stones on the Bed whereon they lay juſt before. As ſoon as the Bed was made, and they laid down to take their reſt there was a great ſcratching on the Form that ſtood by them in an extream manner. Then it came, and did heave up the Bolſter whereon they laid their Heads, and did endeavour to throw them out. At laſt it got hold on one end of the Pillow, and ſet it quite on end, and there it ſtood for ſome conſiderable time; at laſt falling down in its place, they fell faſt aſleep, and ſo continued all that Night.

The Staff that was ſpoken of before was *Jone Windſor*'s, and ſhe ſays, ſhe left it below in the Kitchin. She ſays, that which troubled, did endeavour to kill the People, if it had Power. She put them to it, to know the Reaſon why they were ſo troubled, and they ſaid, they knew nothing, unleſs it were about the Buſineſs of Old *Warren*. She was there three Nights, and the trouble was much after the ſame Manner, nothing that was more remarkable

This is the truth of what I heard them ſpeak from their own Mouths, and they will atteſt it if called thereunto.

Advertiſement.

A Very conſiderable Story this is, and ſufficiently circumſtantiated for Time and Place, ſaving that the County is not named. The reaſon whereof I conceive to be, that it was in the very County in which Mr. Glanvil *lived, to whom the Information was ſent, namely in* Somerſetſhire.

And

And there are Burtons *more than one there, and also* Leighs, *but this* Burton *is determined by the space of something more than a Mile and an halfs distance from* Leigh. *So that the Topographical account is sufficiently exact. And the manner of the Narrative is so simple, plain, and rural, that it prevents all Suspicion of Fraud or Imposture in the Relator.*

The transporting of things out of one Room into another, and striking and the like by invisible Agents, minds me of Mr. Lloyd'*s Story; as 'tis called in Mr.* Glanvil'*s Papers, whom in a Letter he tells he may rely upon it for truth, as being sent from a Person of Quality and Integrity in those parts. It is of an House haunted of one* Walter Meyrick *of the Parish of* Blethvaugh, *in the County of* Radnor, *some Two and Twenty years ago. Where, besides strange kind of Tunable Whistlings in the Rooms, where none was seen to Whistle, there were Stones flung down out of a Loft of great weight, the Doors bolted or barred against them on the inside, when returned from the Church, no body being within. And at Prayers at home, when some of the Women, out of fear, held one another by the Arms, some invisible Power would pluck asunder their Arms, whether they would or no. By such an invisible Force, one as he was sitting at Supper, was struck flat to the Ground, and a Trencher struck out of the Maid's hand that waited, and a smart Box on the Ear given to another, no visible thing being near that did it. A Purse lost with two Gold Rings, and Six and Four-pence in it, the Party complaining thereof, the Purse dropt down from the top of a Room, which had no Room over it, and Four-pence only in it. That Men were struck down with Stones, and yet had no great hurt, shews plainly they were not flung but carried. But there was one beaten with two Staves black and blue, but none to be seen that thus belaboured him, though in the Day.*

We pass by the Frying-Pan, *beaten with a little piece of Iron, and tinkling over a Man's Head in the Night, to his being struck down with a Stick by Day, while he tended the Goose roasting, which that invisible Striker seemed to have*

a Plot

a Plot upon, as also by his knocking a Pick-Ax against the Lid of a Coffer, to have a Design upon a Bag of Money. These and the like Feats, that Narrative relates, which Mr. Glanvil *calls Mr.* Lloyd's *Story, who assures him he may rely on the Truth thereof, he procuring it from a Justice of Peace, who took the Parties Testimonies that dwelt in the House, or upon Occasions were present there, and were Eye-Witnesses of the strange Pranks that were plaid in the Place. And there being that Congeneracy betwixt* James Sherring's *Story and this, they mutually corroborate one another.*

RELAT. XXIV.

Mr. * Andrew Paschall *once Fellow of* Queen's Colledge *in* Cambridge, *his Narrative of three Nights disturbance at his Father's House in* London *in* * Soper Lane, *in* August 1661.

* Vi. *The Account of the* 2d *Edition*, p. 12.

THE first Nights disturbance; There was in Family my Father and Mother, my eldest Brother, and one of my Sisters with a young Maiden Gentlewoman her Bedfellow (who semed to be principally concerned) besides a Maid that lay in the same Chamber.

The Gentlewoman beforementioned, being in bed with my Sister in a Chamber within that where my Father and Mother lay, (the Maid lying in another Bed alone by) there seemed to her, then lying awake, to be one walking in the Chamber, by a noise made as of a long Gown, or some trailing Garment brushing and sweeping up and down the Room.

By and by, there was a noise of clattering their Shoes under the Bed, with a scratching and tugging of the Mat under the Bed likewise. This continued for some time, my Sister being awakened heard it, and so did the Maid. After this my Mother being called out of the next Chamber where she was up (to prepare a Chymical water which required

required their being up all Night) came in, they being in a great fright. My Brother went up alſo, who not gone to bed ſate below. A Candle was brought and the Noiſe ceaſed while they were in the Chamber. Preſently after they were gone out again, and the Light removed, the Chamber door (which ſhuts with difficulty) flew to with a great bounce, it being wide open before, it ſhook the Room, where my Mother was buſied about the aforeſaid Preparation. After this one of the Shoes that was by the Bedſide was flung over the Bed with a mighty force againſt a Preſs that ſtood on the other ſide. This put them to ſuch a fright again, that the Gentlewoman riſe. My Brother went into the Room again, and ſate up with them all Night.

This I received from my Brother, who came to bed to me, (who by reaſon of ſome Illneſs had gone to bed firſt in the Family) early the next Morning. I was confirmed in it afterwards by my Mother, upon whoſe bare aſſertion I dare confidently believe any thing that ſhall be related.

The ſecond Night's diſturbance; the next Evening, as we ſate ar Supper, we all heard a great Noiſe above in the Chamber, at the end of the Houſe, as it were flinging of Chairs and Stools about the Room, or removing of great Trunks. And going up to ſee, all was ſtill till we came down again: However the Gentlewoman reſolved to go to bed again that Night in the ſame Chamber. My Siſter went to bed with her, and the reſt to their Lodgings, only my Brother and I reſolved to ſit up ſome time, and expect the Event. Within a while after we heard them knock earneſtly above, we went both up, they told us there had been the ſame diſturbance as the night before and ſomething more. For beſides the tugging of the Mat under the Bed, the Bed-cloaths upon them were often tugged and pulled, inſomuch as they were fain to hold them hard with their Hands to keep them from being pulled off. All was quiet for a little time while we were in the Chamber with a Light, but we were no ſooner

ſooner out of the Chamber with the Candle, but the noiſe under the Bed, tugging of the Mat, pulling of the Bed-clothes began again. Moreover ſomething came into the Bed, which the Gentlewoman ſaid ran upon her by degrees, and ſeemed little and ſoft like a Mole. Upon this ſhe skreekt out, and we came in again with the Candle, then all was ſtill again.

We retired often with the Candle, and preſently the ſame diſturbance returned, together with a low whiſpering noiſe in many places about the Bed, but chiefly towards the Beds-head, which we all heard ſtaying in the Chamber, and removing the Candle into the next Room. My Father and Mother riſe, and there were none of us but heard all or moſt part of this, but nothing appeared to us. The thing was continually moving and ſtirring in ſome part or other of the Bed, and moſt commonly at the Feet, where it uſually came up firſt. At laſt it came to that boldneſs, that it would make the ſame diſturbance while the Candle was in the Chamber, if but a little ſhaded behind the door, ſo that we could ſometimes ſee the Cloths pull'd and tugg'd, and we frequently ſaw it heave and lift up the Cloths upon the Bed towards the Feet, in a little Hill or riſing, which both my Brother and I often clapt our hands upon, perceiving it to move, and withal to make a little clacking noiſe, which cannot any more than the former whiſpering be expreſt in Writing. We could not perceive any thing more than the Cloths, as often as we ſaw them ſo moved and heaved up. The Shoes were laid up upon the Beds Teſter, the ſecond Night, to prevent the clattering which was made with them the night before, and whilſt we were ſtanding talking in the Chamber, as I was ſome diſtance from the Bed, one of the Shoes flew off and hit me lightly on the Head, my Hat being on. And another came preſently tumbling down after it, none ſtirring the Bed. Afterwards the aforeſaid little thing came upon the Gentlewoman ſo frequently, that if we were but the leaſt removed, ſhe could not lie quiet

in

in her Bed. Then ſhe ſate up in her Bed with a Mantle about her, which when we were retired was pulled at as if it would have been plucked from her. Whereupon ſhe cryed out again, and I came into the Chamber again, and was deſired to hold faſt upon the Mantle about her, which notwithſtanding upon removal of the Candle was tugged hard again, which I very ſenſibly perceived. Whereupon we perceiving no Ceſſation, my Brother and I continued in the Chamber all that night, till break of day, with a Candle in the Room. The tugging of the Mat under the Bed, the heaving of the Clothes about the Feet, and the other whiſpering noiſe continuing by Fits till light appeared. There was ſcarcely any of us, eſpecially ſhe her ſelf, that did not Conjure that Whiſperer, by the moſt Sacred Names, to ſpeak out and tell us its intent, but nothing was to be ſeen, nor any anſwer made.

The third nights diſturbance; the Gentlewoman reſolved now to change her Chamber, to try if the diſturbance would follow, ſhe did ſo, my Siſter ſtill accompanying of her. My Brother ſate up as before below, expecting again what would follow. The ſame noiſe was heard this third night as the night before above in the Chamber. We had not ſate long below before we were Summoned up with loud knockings again, they were in the ſame caſe as before, if not worſe. A while after they were in Bed in this other Chamber, there was a clattering heard at the door, preſently after the ſame noiſe under the Bed, the ſame heaving of the Cloths, and the ſame whiſpering as before. But towards Midnight, that thing which came into the Bed before, came now ſo often, with ſuch ungrateful skippings up and down upon her, that ſhe often skreekt and cryed out. It ſeemed cold and very ſmooth as ſhe related, and would commonly come in at her Feet, and run all upon her, by her ſide to her ſhoulder. Once ſhe deſired me to clap my hand upon her back near her ſhoulder Blade, as feeling it juſt then come up thither. I did ſo on a ſudden, and

there seemed a cold blast or puff of Wind to blow upon my hand just as I clapt it on her. And one thing more remarkable was this, when the whispering was heard at her Beds-head, after we had many times in vain conjured it to speak and tell us the intent of its whisperings and disturbance, I spake to it very earnestly to speak out or whisper louder. Hereupon it hissed out much louder than before, but nothing intelligible to be heard. At last this disturbance with the thing in the Bed being no longer tolerable to the Gentlewoman, my Mother rise (lying in the next Chamber, and hearing their perplexity) came into her Chamber, and prayed sometime at her Bedside just by her. Whereupon it pleased God within a very short time after to remove all those noises, and that which disturbed her. After that night, I cannot tell certainly, that there hath been any thing of that nature heard in the House.

Advertisement.

This Narrative, though it was not among Mr. Glanvil's *Papers, but I found it by chance in mine own Study, yet it being made by an Eye-witness, whom I knew to be one of Judgment and Integrity, I thought fit to insert it. And the rather, because of that passage, that when he clapt his hand upon the Shoulder of the Gentlewoman where the Ghost was, a cool blast or puff of Air seemed to bear or blow against his Hand. Which is like Mr.* Glanvil's *Experiment of pressing the Linnen Bag in which some Spirit was moving as a living Animal. Which are notable instances of their easie percribration through porous Bodies. This troublesome Spirit I suspect to have been the Ghost of some party deceased who would have uttered something, but had not the knack of speaking so articulately as to be understood. And when they can speak intelligibly, it is ordinarily in a hoarse and low Voice,*

Voice, as is observable in many stories, and particularly in a very fresh story of the Ghost of one deceased that spoke to Jacob Brent, *some two years ago, an Apprentice then to one Mr.* Lawrence *in the* Little Minories; *of which to give some brief account, I think fitting, for the very same reasons, that I have inserted this of Mr.* Paschal, *namely, that it is from an Eye-witness, and a discreet and well-disposed young Man, as they that know him do testifie: and I will set down no more, nor so much as he himself declared or acknowledged, not only to Dr.* Cudworth, *Mr* Fowler, *and Mr.* Glanvil, *but very lately to my self also,* viz.

That he had Conference with the Ghost of some deceased party for about a quarter of an hour: That he had a glimpse of the shape thereof, being called into the Room where it was, by a Voice, saying, Here, Here; *but that he presently cried out,* Good God, let me see nothing, *he being so affrighted with the sight. But however, he entertained discourse with it for about the time abovementioned; received several things in charge from it to be done, and was commanded secrecy in some special Matters; but it gave such instructions, and made such discoveries, as right might be done to some that had been wronged by the party deceased. Upon which performance of* Jacob Brent, *the disturbance of the House ceased: But for about six Weeks before,* Mr. Lawrence *his House was miserably disturbed, they being most nights affrighted with Thumpings and loud Knockings at the Chamber-doors, sometimes with a strange whirling noise up and down the Rooms, and clapping upon the Stairs. And that night* Jacob Brent *sate up in the Kitchin, expecting some Conference with the Spirit for the quiet of the House, he heard the door of the room above him, that was fast lockt, fly open, while he was reading in* Eusebius, *and immediately a swift running down the Stairs, and a great knocking at the Kitchin-door which stood a jarr, and a chinking of Money on the Stairs, as he passed from the Kitchin towards the Dining-room over against it, whose Door was lockt when they went to Bed, but now opened as the Door of the other Room above the Kitchin.*

Into this Dining-room he was invited, as is abovesaid, by a Voice saying, Here, Here; *and there he received, and after executed, such directions as gave quiet afterwards to the House; and he received thanks from the Ghost after he had made his Journey abroad to fulfil its desire, at his returning home, with a promise it would never trouble the House more. And of the troubles of the House before, the whole Family were Witnesses, as also of the Conference of* J. B. *and the Spirit, that they heard two speaking in the Dining-room, though they were not so near to understand what they said, only they heard* J. B. *pray to God that he might see nothing.*

That the House was really Haunted, besides what has been said already, is further confirmed by Mr. Bamfield, *who was desired to lie in the House some days before this Conference of* J. B. *with the Spirit; who though he heard no noises, yet felt his Cloths tuckt about him, and his Hand kindly stroaked, he being awake all night. And that this could be no trick of* J.B. *is further evident from that great emotion of mind he was in after this for some two hours, even almost to distraction, and was fain afterwards to be let Bloud. But for his constant temper, he is observed to be, and I take him to be such, of a sober, honest, and sensible Genius; nor is he any Sectarian, but an orderly Son of the Church of* England.

And if the Injunctions of the Ghost he conversed with, and common rules of Prudence, did not forbid the declaring of some particulars, this is an experiment that might convince the most incredulous touching such things. But Mr. Glanvil *complains in a Letter of his to Dr.* H. More, *that this shiness and tender respect of persons has hindred him of many a considerable story; as I have also taken notice long since how mutilate the story of the Shoemaker of* Breslaw *is made, by reason of* Martinus Weinrichius *his concealing the Shoemakers Name. But the mentioning of lockt Doors flying open of their own accord, reminds me of Mr.* Alcock's *story of a Chest with three Locks unlocking it self, and flying wide open, and then locking it self again. Which is as follows.*

RE-

RELAT. XXV.

The Story of Mr. John Bourne *of* Durley *in* Ireland, *about a mile from* Bridgwater, *Counsellour at Law.*

MR. *John Bourne*, for his Skill, Care, and Honesty, was made by his Neighbour *John Mallet* Esq; of *Enmore*, the chief of his Trustees for his Son *John Mallet*, (Father to *Elizabeth* now Countess Dowager of *Rochester*) and the rest of his Children in Minority. He had the reputation of a worthy good Man, and was commonly taken notice of for an habitual saying, by way of Interjection, almost to any thing, *viz. You say true, You say true, You are in the right.* This Mr. *Bourne* fell sick at his House at *Durley* in the year 1654 and Dr. *Raymond* of *Oake* was sent for to him, who after some time gave the said Mr. *Bourne* over. And he had not now spoke in Twenty four hours, when the said Dr. *Raymond*, and Mrs. *Carlisle* (Mr. *Bourne*'s Nephew's Wife, whose Husband he made one of his Heirs) sitting by his Bed-side, the Doctor opened the Curtains at the Beds feet, to give him air; when on a sudden, to the horrour and amazement of Dr. *Raymond* and Mrs. *Carlisle*, the great Iron Chest by the Window at his Beds feet with three Locks to it (in which were all the Writings and Evidences of the said Mr. *Mallet*'s Estate) began to open, first one Lock, then another, then the third. Afterwards the Lid of the said Iron Chest lifted up it self, and stood wide open. Then the Patient Mr. *Bourne*, who had not spoke in Twenty four hours, lifted himself up also, and looking upon the Chest, cryed, *You say true, You say true, You are in the right, I'll be with you by and by.* So the Patient lay down, and spake no more. Then the Chest fell again of it self, and lockt it self one Lock after another, as the three Locks opened; and they tried to knock it open and could not, and Mr. *Bourne* died within an hour after.

Advertisement.

This Narrative was sent in a Letter to J. C. *for Dr.* H. More, *from Mr.* Thomas Alcock *of* Shear-Hampton; *of which in a Letter to the said Doctor he gives this Account. I am, saith he, very confident of the truth of the Story: for I had it from a very good Lady, the eldest Daughter of the said* John Mallet, *(whose Trustee Mr.* Bourne *was) and only Aunt to the Countess of* Rochester, *who knew all the Parties; and have heard Dr.* Raymond, *and Mr.* Carlisle *relate it often with amazement, being both Persons of Credit.*

The curious may be inquisitive what the meaning of the opening of the Chest may be, and of Mr. Bourne *his saying,* You say true, *&c.* I'll be with you by and by. *As for the former, it is noted by* Paracelsus *especially, and by others, that there are signs often given of the departure of sick men lying on their Death-beds, of which this opening of the* Iron *Coffer or Chest, and closing again, is more than ordinary significant, especially if we consider the nearness of Sound and Sence betwixt* Coffer *and* Coffin, *and recal to mind that of* Virgil.

> Olli dura quies oculos & *ferreus* urget
> Somnus ——

though this quaintness is more than is requisite in these Prodigies presaging the Sick man's death. As for the latter, it seems to be nothing else but the saying Amen *to the presage uttered in his accustomary form of speech: As if he should say, You of the invisible Kingdom of Spirits have given the token of my sudden departure: And* you say true, *I shall be with you by and by. Which he was enabled so assuredly to assent to, upon the advantage of the Relaxation of his Soul now departing from the Body. Which* Diodorus Siculus, *lib.* 18. *notes to be the opinion of* Pythagoras *and his Followers,*

lowers, that it is the Priviledge of the Soul near her departure to exercise a Fatidical faculty, and to pronounce truly touching things future, Προγιγνώσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καθ᾽ ὃν ἂν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν ποιῶνται; That humane Souls prognostick things to come at what time they are separating from their Body.

RELAT. XXVI.

The Apparition of James Haddock *to* Francis Taverner *near* Drum-bridge *in* Ireland, *comprized in a Letter of* Thomas Alcock, *to Dr.* H. More.

AT *Michaelmas* 1662. *Francis Taverner*, about 25 years old, a lusty, proper, stout Fellow, then servant at large (afterwards Porter) to the Lord *Chichester* Earl of *Donegal*, at *Belfast* in the North of *Ireland*, County of *Antrim*, and Diocess of *Connor*, riding late in the night from *Hilbrough* homeward, near *Drum-bridge*, his Horse, though of good metal, suddenly made a stand; and he supposing him to be taken with the Staggers, alighted to blood him in the mouth, and presently mounted again. As he was setting forward, there seemed to pass by him two Horsemen, though he could not hear the treading of their Feet, which amazed him. Presently there appeared a third in a white Coat, just at his Elbow, in the likeness of *James Haddock*, formerly an Inhabitant in *Malone*, where he died near five years before. Whereupon *Taverner* askt him in the Name of God who he was? he replied, *I am* James Haddock, *and you may call to mind by this Token; That about five years ago I and two other Friends were at your Father's House, and You by your Father's appointment brought us some Nuts, and therefore be not afraid*, says the Apparition. Whereupon *Taverner*, remembring the Circumstances, thought it might be *Haddock*; and those two

two who passed by before him, he thought to be his two Friends with him when he gave them Nuts, and couragiously askt him why he appeared to him rather than any other. He answered, Because he was a Man of more resolution than others; and if he would ride his way with him, he would acquaint him with a business he had to deliver him. Which *Taverner* refused to do, and would go his own way, (for they were now at a Quadrivial) and so rode on homewards. But immediately, on their departure, there arose a great Wind, and withal he heard very hideous screeches and noises, to his great amazement; but riding forward as fast as he could, he at last heard the Cocks crow, to his comfort; he alighted off from his Horse, and falling to Prayer, desired God's assistance, and so got safe home.

The night after there appeared again to him the likeness of *James Haddock*, and bid him go to *Elenor Welsh*, (now the Wife of *Davis* living at *Malone*, but formerly the Wife of the said *James Haddock*, by whom she had an onely Son, to whom the said *James Haddock* had by his Will given a Lease which he held of the Lord *Chichester*, of which the Son was deprived by *Davis* who had Married his Mother) and to ask her if her Maiden-name was not *Elenor Welsh*; and if it were, to tell her, that it was the Will of her former Husband *James Haddock* that their Son should be righted in the Lease. But *Taverner*, partly loth to gain the ill will of his Neighbours, and partly thinking he should not be credited but lookt on as deluded, long neglected to do his Message, till having been every night for about a Months space haunted with this Apparition in several Forms every Night more and more terrible, (which was usually preceded by an unusual trembling over his whole Body, and great change of Countenance manifest to his Wife, in whose presence frequently the Apparition was, though not visible to her) at length he went to *Malone* to *Davis*'s Wife, and askt whether her Maiden-name was not *Elenor Welsh*; if it was, he had something to say to her.

She

She replied, there was another *Elenor Welsh* besides her. Hereupon *Taverner* returned without delivering his Message. The same night being fast asleep in his Bed, (for the former Apparitions were, as he sate by the Fire, with his Wife) by something pressing upon him, he was awakened, and saw again the Apparition of *James Haddock*, in a white Coat, as at other times, who asked him if he had delivered his Message? He answered, he had been there with *Elenor Welsh*. Upon which the Apparition looking more pleasantly upon him, bid him not be afraid, and so vanished in a flash of brightness.

But some nights after (he having not delivered his Message) he came again, and appearing in many formidable shapes, threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it. This made him leave his House wher he dwelt in the Mountains, and betake himself to the Town of *Belfast*, where he sate up all night at one *Pierce*'s House a Shoemaker, accompanied with the said *Pierce*, and a Servant or two of the Lord *Chichester*, who were desirous to see or hear the Spirit. About Midnight, as they were all by the Fire-side, they beheld *Taverner*'s Countenance to change, and a trembling to fall on him, who presently espyed the Apparition in a Room opposite to him where he sate, and took up the Candle and went to it, and resolutely askt it, in the Name of God, wherefore it haunted him? It replied, because he had not delivered the Message, and withal threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it speedily; and so, changing it self into many prodigious shapes, it vanisht in white like a Ghost. Whereupon *Francis Taverner* became much dejected and troubled, and next day went to the Lord *Chichester*'s House, and with tears in his Eyes, related to some of the Family the sadness of his condition. They told it to my Lord's Chaplain, Mr. *James South*, who came presently to *Taverner*, and being acquainted of his whole Story, advised him to go this present time to *Malone* to deliver punctually his Message, and promised to go along with him. But first they went to

Dr. *Lewis Downs*, then Minister of *Belfast*, who upon hearing the Relation of the whole matter, doubted at first of the truth of it, attributing it rather to Melancholy than any thing of reality. But being afterwards fully satisfied of it, the onely scruple remaining was, Whether it might be lawful to go on such a business, not knowing whose errand it was; Since, though it was a real Apparition of some Spirit, yet it was questionable whether of a good or a bad Spirit. Yet the justice of the Cause, (it being the common report the Youth was wronged) and other considerations prevailing, he went with them. So they three went to *Davis*'s House, where the Woman being desired to come to them, *Taverner* did effectually do his Message, by telling her, that he could not be at quiet for the Ghost of her former Husband *James Haddock*, who threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her she must right *John Haddock* her Son by him, in a Lease wherein she and *Davis* her now Husband had wronged him. This done, he presently found great quietness in his mind; and thanking the Gentlemen for their Company, Advice, and Assistance, he departed thence to his Brother's House at *Drum-bridge*: Where, about two Nights after, the aforesaid Apparition came to him again, and more pleasantly than formerly, askt if he had delivered his Message? He answered, he had done it fully. It replied, that he must do the Message to the Executors also, that the business might be perfected. At this meeting *Taverner* asked the Spirit if *Davis* would do him any hurt; to which it answered at first somewhat doubtfully; but at length threatned *Davis*, if he attempted any thing to the injury of *Taverner*, and so vanisht away in white.

The day following, Dr. *Jeremie Taylor* Bishop of *Down*, *Connor*, and *Dromore*, was to go to keep Court at *Dromore*, and commanded me, who was then Secretary to him, to write for *Taverner* to meet him there, which he did. And there, in the presence of many, he examined

examined *Taverner* ſtrictly in this ſtrange Scene of Providence, as my Lord ſtil'd it; and by the Account given him both by *Taverner*, and others who knew *Taverner*, and much of the former Particulars, his Lordſhip was ſatisfied that the Apparition was true and real; but ſaid no more there to him, becauſe at *Hilbrough*, three Miles from thence on his way home, my Lord was informed that my Lady *Conway* and other Perſons of Quality were come purpoſely to hear his Lordſhip examine the Matter. So *Taverner* went with us to *Hilbrough*, and there to ſatisfie the curioſity of the freſh Company, after asking many things anew, and ſome over again, my Lord adviſed him the next time the Spirit appeared, to ask him theſe Queſtions. *Whence are you? Are you a good or a bad Spirit? Where is your abode? What ſtation do you hold? How are you regimented in the other World? And what is the Reaſon that you appear for the Relief of your Son in ſo ſmall a matter, when ſo many Widows and Orphans are oppreſſed in the World, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their Relations appear as you do, to right them?*

That night *Taverner* was ſent for to *Lisburne*, to my Lord *Conway*'s three Miles from *Hilbrough*, on his way home to *Belfaſt*, where he was again ſtrictly examined in the preſence of many good Men and Women, of the aforeſaid matter, who was ordered to lie at my Lord *Conway*'s all night; and about nine or ten a Clock at Night, ſtanding by the Fire-ſide with his Brother and many others, his Countenance changed, and he fell into a trembling, the uſual Prognoſtick of the Apparition; and, being loth to make any diſturbance in his Lordſhip's Houſe, He and his Brother went into the Court, where he ſaw the Spirit coming over the Wall; which approaching nearer, askt him if he had done his Meſſage to the Executor alſo? He replied, he had, and wondred it ſhould ſtill haunt him. It replied, he need not fear, for it wou'd do him no hurt, nor trouble him any more, but the Executor if he did not ſee the Boy righted.

righted. Here his Brother put him in mind to ask the Spirit what the Biſhop bid him, which he did preſently. But it gave him no Anſwer, but crawled on its Hands and Feet over the Wall again, and ſo vaniſht in white, with a moſt melodious Harmony.

Note, (1) That *Pierce*, at whoſe Houſe and in whoſe preſence the Apparition was, being askt whether he ſaw the Spirit, ſaid, he did not, but thought at that time he had a Miſt all over his Eyes. (2) What was then ſpoken to *Taverner*, was in ſo low and hollow a Voice, that they could not underſtand what it ſaid. (3.) At *Pierce*'s Houſe it ſtood juſt at the entry of a Door; and as a Maid paſſed by to go in at the Door, *Taverner* ſaw it go aſide, and give way to the Maid, though ſhe ſaw it not. (4.) That the Leaſe was hereupon diſpoſed on to the Boy's uſe. (5.) The Spirit at the laſt appearing at my Lord *Conway*'s Houſe, revealed ſomewhat to *Taverner*, which he would not diſcover to any of us that askt him.

This *Taverner* with all the Perſons and Places mentioned in the Story, I knew very well, and all wiſe and good men did believe it, eſpecially the Biſhop, and Dean of *Connor* Dr. *Ruſt*. Witneſs

Your humble Servant,

Thomas Alcock.

Advertiſement.

IT will not be amiſs to ſet down here, what Mr. *Alcock* adds by way of *Poſtſcript* in his Letter. *There is an odd Story*, ſaith he, *depending on this which I cannot chuſe but tell you. The Boy's Friends put the Truſtees and Executor on this Apparition's account into our Courts, where it was pleaſant to hear my Lord talk to them on the whole matter.*

matter. The Uncle and Trustee, one John Costlet, *forswore the thing, railed on* Taverner, *and made strange imprecations, and wisht Judgments might fall on him if he knew of any such Lease; but the fear of the Apparition's menaces by* Taverner *scar'd him into a* promise *of Justice at last. About four or five years after, when my Lord died, and the noise of the Apparition was over,* Costlet *began again to threaten the Boy with Law,* &c. *But being drunk at* Hillhall *by* Lisburne, *coming home he fell from his Horse, and never spake more. This is a sad truth to my knowledge.*

RELAT. XXVII.

The Story of David Hunter *Neat-herd to the Bishop of* Down *and* Connor, *at* Portmore *in* Ireland, 1663. *from the same hand.*

D*Avid Hunter*, Neat-herd at the Bishops House at *Portmore*, there appeared to him one night, carrying a Log of Wood into the Dairy, an old Woman, which amazed him, for he knew her not: but the fright made him throw away his Log of Wood, and run into the House. The next night she appeared again to him, and he could not chuse but follow her all night; and so almost every night for near three quarters of a Year. Whenever she came, he must go with her through the Woods at a good round rate; and the poor Fellow lookt as if he was bewitcht and travelled off his Legs. And when in Bed with his Wife, if she appeared, he must rise and go. And because his Wife could not hold him in his Bed, she would go too, and walk after him till day, though she see nothing: But his little Dog was so well acquainted with the Apparition, that he would follow her as well as his Master. If a Tree stood in her walk, he observed her always to go through it. In all this while she spake not.

But

But one day the said *David* going over a Hedge into the High-way, she came just against him, and he cryed out, *Lord bless me, would I was dead; shall I never be delivered from this misery?* At which, *And the Lord bless me too,* says she: *It was very happy you spake first, for till then I had no power to speak, though I have followed you so long. My Name,* says she, *is* Margaret ——, *I lived here before the War, and had one Son by my Husband. When he died I married a Souldier, by whom I had several Children, which that former Son maintained, else we must have all starved. He lives beyond the* Ban-water; *pray go to him and bid him dig under such a Hearth, and there he shall find 28 s. Let him pay what I owe in such a place, and the rest to the charge unpayed at my Funeral; and go to my Son that lives here, which I had by my latter Husband, and tell him, that he lives a wicked and a dissolute life, and is very unnatural and ungrateful to his Brother that maintained him, and if he does not mend his life, God Almighty will destroy him.*

David Hunter told her he never knew her. *No,* says she, *I died seven years before you came into the Country.* But for all that, if he would do her Message she should never hurt him. But he deferred doing as the Apparition bid him, and she appeared the night after as he lay in Bed, and struck him on the shoulder very hard; at which he cryed out, and askt her if she did not promise she would not hurt him? She said, that was if he did her Message; if not, she would kill him. He told her he could not go now by reason the Waters were out. She said she was content he should stay till they were abated; but charged him afterwards not to fail her. So he did her errand, and afterwards she appeared and gave him thanks. *For now,* said she, *I shall be at rest, therefore pray lift me up from the ground, and I will trouble you no more.* So *David Hunter* lifted her up from the ground, and, as he said, she felt just like a Bag of Feathers in his Arms. So she vanisht, and he heard most delicate Musick as she went off, over his head; and he never was more troubled.

This

This acccount the poor Fellow gave us every day as the Apparition ſpake to him, and my Lady *Conway* came to *Portmore*, where ſhe askt the Fellow the ſame queſtions, and many more. This I know to be true, being all the while with my Lord of *Down*, and the Fellow but a poor Neat-herd there.

Thomas Alcock.

Advertiſement.

IT *is no ſmall confirmation to my ſelf of the truth of theſe two laſt Stories, in both which my Lady* Conway *is mentioned, in that I received two Letters from that incomparable Lady out of* Ireland *touching them both. The former is dated*, Lisburn, *March* 3. 1662. *wherein ſhe writes thus:* I have ſpoken lately with two ſimple Country people who have been much perplexed with two ſeveral Perſons who have died lately. The Stories are too long to relate; but the Circumſtances are ſuch, as I know not how to misbelieve the Stories. The Perſons cannot be ſuſpected to have any Deſign, and were altogether unacquainted in the Families of them that appeared, and wholly ignorant of thoſe things in them that they now relate, and have charge to ſollicite the amendment of ſome Miſcarriages by ſome Perſons intruſted, which they could never hear of, as is ſuppoſed, by any other means. There are many other Probabilities, but all evaded by ſeveral Perſons here. *And to give you a Taſte of their goodly Evaſions, I will tranſcribe a Paſſage out of the other Letter of the ſaid excellent Lady, dated* Lisburn, *April* 29. 1663. *wherein ſhe writes thus:* The Relation I ſent you of two in this Country is certainly liable to as little exception *(There was mention of the Drummer of* Tedworth *before)* as any one ſhall meet with; As may appear by the diligent ſearch ſome have made for a Flaw

and

and Objection against the Parties, who, after all, they confess, must needs appear perfectly uninteressed, and impossible to have had from any concerned, what they have delivered. But they believe that either Drunkenness, or desperate Melancholy did by chance enable them to light upon greater Truths than themselves thought of. *Thus far that excellent Person. And it was enough for this noble Lady onely to recite their Solution of the Phænomenon into* Melancholy *and* Drunkenness, *it being so trifling and silly, that it wanted no farther Refutation than the mere Recital.*

That Drink may discover the Secrets *of him that is* Drunk, *as the Poet observes, is reasonable enough: but that a Man by being* drunk *is better capacitated to understand the* Secrets *of another Man, or of his Family, is so wild a Paradox, that no* Sober *Man can admit it. And what is* Melancholy *but a* natural Drunkenness *when it ferments? And moreover, it being but by chance that* Melancholy *or* Drunkenness *enables them to light upon such things, why may not* Sanguine *and* Sobriety *chance as well to do the same, and not rather better, if there be any betterness in things by chance? But if there be any advantage in* fermenting Melancholy *or* strong Drink, *it is because the Soul is more excited, and made more ready to discover its own more inward Furniture, as Men in drink reveal their own Secrets. But the Soul has no innate Ideas of* particular *things, and therefore the greatest Effervescency of Drink or Melancholy will not a jot better dispose her to the knowledge of* Particulars, *but indispose her for the reception of them from without. So blindly do these Witlings Philosophize touching things of this Nature.*

And yet, I dare say, this was the very best of their Evasions: Which being no better against these two Stories, and the Stories so sifted and examined (to say nothing of others) by a Person of so quick a Wit, impartial Judgment and Sagacity, as I know that excellent Lady to have been, I must confess, that to me it is a Confirmation as strong as I can desire for the main strokes of the Stories, of which I retain some

some memory, having heard a more particular Account of them from her Ladyship presently upon her return from Ireland *some sixteen years ago. Nor do doubt but Mr.* Alcock *has approved himself a faithful Reciter of them as to the main; nor can there any one rightly be deemed more fit and able, he being present at the Examination of* Taverner, *and dwelling at* Portmore *with the Bishop of* Down, *whose servant* Hunter *was.*

RELAT. XXVIII.

The Confessions of certain Scotch *Witches, taken out of an authentick Copy of their Trial at the Assizes held at* Paisley *in* Scotland, *Feb.* 15. 1678. *touching the bewitching of Sir* George Maxwel.

THE Tenour of the Confessions taken before Justices: As first of *Annibal Stuart* of the age of fourteen years, or thereby; who declared that she was brought in the presence of the Justices for the crime of Witchcraft; and declared that on Harvest last, the Devil in the shape of a black Man came to her Mother's House, and required the Declarant to give her self up to him; and that the Devil promised her that she should not want any thing that was good. Declares, that she being enticed by her Mother *Jannet Mathie*, and *Bessie Weir*, who was Officer to their several meetings, she put her hand to the crown of her Head, and the other to the soal of her Foot, and did give her self up to the Devil. Declares, that her Mother promised her a new Coat for doing of it. Declares that her Spirit's Name was *Enippa*, and that the Devil took her by the Hand and nipped her Arm, which continued to be sore for half an Hour. Declares, that the Devil in the shape of a black Man lay with her in the Bed under the Clothes, and that she found him cold. Declares, that thereafter he placed her nearest himself. And declares, she was present in her

her Mothers House when the Effigies of Wax was made; and that it was made to represent Sir *George Maxwel.* Declares, that the black Man, *Janet Mathie*, the Declarant's Mother (whose Spirit's name was *Landlady*; *Bessie Weir*, whose Spirit's name is *Sopha*; *Margaret Craige*, whose Spirit's name is *Rigerum*; and *Margaret Jackson*, whose Spirit's name is *Locas*; were all present at the making of the said Effigies; and that they bound it on a Spit, and turned it before the Fire; and that it was turned by *Bessie Weir*, saying, as they turned it, Sir *George Maxwel*, Sir *George Maxwel*; and that this was expressed by all of them, and by the Declarant. Declares, that this Picture was made in *October* last. And further declares, that upon the third day of *January* instant, *Bessie Weir* came to her Mothers House, and advertised her to come to her Brother *John Stuart*'s upon the night following. And that accordingly she came to the place, where she found *Bessie Weir*, *Margery Craige*, *Margaret Jackson*, and her Brother *John Stuart*, and a Man with black Cloths, a blue Band, and white Handcuffs with Hogers, and that his Feet were cloven. And the Declarant sate down by the Fire-side with them, when they made a Picture of Clay, in which they placed Pins in the Breast and Sides: And declares, that they placed one in every Side, and one in the Breast. Declared, that the black Man did put the Pins in the Picture of Wax; but is not sure who put in the Pins in the Picture of Clay. Declares, that the Effigies produced are the Effigies she saw made. Declares, that the black Man's name is *Ejoall.* This Declaration was emitted before *James Dunlop* of *Husil*, *William Gremlaye*, &c. *Jan.* 27. 1677. *Ita est.* Robertus Park *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

The second Confession is of *John Stuart*, who being interrogate anent this crime of Witchcraft, declared, That upon *Wednesday* the third day of *January* instant, *Bessie Weir* in *Pollocton*, came to the Declarant late at night, who being without doors near his own House, the said *Bessie Weir* did intimate to him, that there was a meet-

a meeting to be at his Houſe the next day: And that the Devil under the ſhape of a black Man, *Margaret Jackſon*, *Margery Craige*, and the ſaid *Beſſie Weir*, were to be preſent. And that *Beſſie Weir*, required the Declarant to be there, which he promiſed. And that the next night, after the Declarant had gone to Bed, the black Man came in and called the Declarant quietly by his name. Upon which he aroſe from his bed, and put on his Cloths, and lighted a Candle. Declares, that *Margaret Jackſon*, *Beſſie Weir*, and *Margery Craige*, did enter in at a Window in the Gavil of the Declarant's Houſe. And that the firſt thing that the black Man required, was, that the Declarant ſhould renounce his Baptiſm, and deliver himſelf up wholly to him: Which the Declarant did, by putting one hand on the crown of his Head, and the other on the ſoal of his Foot. And that he was tempted to it by the Devil's promiſing that he ſhould not want any pleaſure, and that he ſhould get his heart filled on all that ſhall do him wrong. Declares, that he gave him the name of *Jonas* for his Spirit's name. Declares, that thereafter the Devil required every one of their conſents for the making of the Effigies of Clay for the taking away the life of Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, to revenge the taking the Declarant's Mother *Jannet Mathie*. Declares, that every one of the perſons above-named gave their conſent to the making of the ſaid Effigies, and that they wrought the Clay, and that the black Man did make the Figure of the Head and Face, and two Arms to the ſaid Effigies. Declares, that the Devil ſet three Pins in the ſame, one in each ſide, and one in the Breaſt: And that the Declarant did hold the Candle to them all the time the Picture was making. And that he obſerved one of the black Man's Feet to be cloven: and that the black Man's Apparel was black: and that he had a blueiſh Band and Handcuffs; and that he had Hogers on his Legs without Shoes: and that the black Man's Voice was hough and gouſty. And further declares, that after they had begun the

forming of the Effigies, his Sister *Annabil Stuart*, a Child of thirteen or fourteen years of Age, came knocking at the Door, and being let in by the Declarant, she staid with them a considerable time, but that she went away before the rest, he having opened the Door to her. Declares, that the rest went out at the Window at which they entred. Declares, that the Effigies was placed by *Bessie Weir* in his Bedstraw. He further declares, he himself did envy against Sir *George Maxwel* for apprehending *Jannet Mathie* his Mother: And that *Bessie Weir* had great malice against this Sir *George Maxwel*; and that her quarrel was, as the Declarant conceived, because the said Sir *George* had not entred her Husband to his Harvest-service; and also declares, that the said Effigies was made upon the fourth day of *January* instant, and that the Devil's name was *Ejoall*. Declares, that his Spirit's name was *Jonas*, and *Bessie Weirs* Spirit's name, who was Officer, was *Sopha*; and that *Margaret Jackson*'s Spirits name was *Locas*; and that *Annabil Stuart*'s, the Declarant's Sisters was *Enippa*; but does not remember what *Margery Craige*'s Spirits name was. Declares, that he cannot write. This Confession was emitted in the presence of the Witnesses to the other Confession, and on the same day. *Ita est.* Robertus Park *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

The Confession of *Margaret Jackson*, Relict of *Tho. Stuart* in *Shaws*, who being examined by the Justices anent her, being guilty of Witchcraft, declares, That she was present at the making of the first Effigies and Picture that was made in *Jannet Mathie*'s House in *October*, and that the Devil in the shape of a black Man, *Jannet Mathie*, *Bessie Weir*, *Margery Craige*, and *Annabil Stuart*, was present at the making of the said Effigies, and that it was made to represent Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, for the taking away his life. Declares, that forty years ago, or thereabout, she was at *Pollockshawcroft*, with some few sticks on her back, and that the black Man came to her, and that she did give up her

self

ſelf unto the black Man from the top of her Head to the ſoal of her Foot; and that this was after the Declarant's renouncing of her Baptiſm; and that the Spirit's name which he deſigned her, was *Locas*. And that about the third or fourth of *January* inſtant, or thereby, in the night time when ſhe awaked, ſhe found a Man to be in Bed with her, whom ſhe ſuppoſed to have been her Husband, though her Husband had been dead twenty years or thereby, and that the Man immediately diſappeared: and declares, that this Man, who diſappeared was the Devil. Declares, that upon *Thurſday*, the 4*th* of *January* inſtant, ſhe was preſent in the Houſe of *John Stuart* at night when the Effigies of Clay was made, and that ſhe ſaw the black Man there, ſometimes ſitting, ſometimes ſtanding with *John Stuart*; and that the black Man's Cloths were black, and that he had white Handcuffs. And that *Beſſie Weir* in *Pollockton*, and *Annabil Stuart* in *Shaws*, and *Margary Craige*, were at the aforeſaid time and place of making the ſaid Effigies of Clay; and declares, that ſhe gave her conſent to the making of the ſame; and declares, that the Devil's name, who compeired in the black Man's ſhape, was *Ejoall*. *Sic ſubſcribitur*. *Ita eſt*. Robertus Park *Notarius Publicus*, &c.

Now follow the Depoſitions of certain Perſons agreeing with the Confeſſions of the abovesaid Witches.

ANdr. *Martin* Servitour to the Lord of *Pollock*, of the Age of Thirty years or thereby, depones, That he was preſent in the Houſe of *Jannet Mathie* Pannal when the Picture of Wax produced was found in a little hole in the Wall at the back of the Fire. Depones, that Sir *George* his Sickneſs did fall upon him about the eighteenth of *October* or thereby. Depones, that the Picture of Wax was found on the * * * of *December*, and that Sir *George* his Sickneſs did abate and relent about the time the Picture of Wax was found

and discovered in *Jannet Mathie*'s House. Depones, that the Pins were placed in the right and left sides; and that Sir *George Maxwell* of *Pollock* his pains, as he understood by Sir *George*'s complaining of these pains, lay most in his right and left sides. And depones, that Sir *George* his pains did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax, and taking out of the Pins as is said. And depones, that the Pannal *Jannet Mathie* has been by fame and bruite reputed a Witch these several years by-past. And this is the truth as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscrib.* Andr. Martin.

Laurence Pollock Secretary to the Lord of *Pollock*, sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones as follows, That on the * * day of *December* he was in the Pannel *Jannet Mathie*'s House when the Picture was found; and that he did not see it before it was brought to the Pannal's door. Depones, that Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*'s sickness did seize upon him about the fourteenth of *October* or thereby, and he did continue in his Sickness or Distemper for six Weeks or thereby. Depones, that Sir *George* his Sickness did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax, and taking out of the Pins that were in the Effigies. Depones, that by open bruit and common fame, *Jannet Mathie*, and *Bessie Weir*, and *Margery Craige*, are brandit to be Witches. Depones, That the truth is this as he shall answer it to God. *Sic subscrib.* Laurence Pollock.

Lodovic Stuart of *Auchunhead* being sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones, That Sir *George* his Sickness fell upon him the fourteenth or fifteenth of *October*, or thereby. Depones, that he was not present at the finding of the Picture of Wax; but that he had seen Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock* after it was found; and having seen him in his Sickness often times before, he did perceive that Sir *George* had sensibly recovered, after the time that the said Picture was said to be found, which was upon the 11*th* or 12*th* of *December*. Depones, that *Jannet Mathie*, and *Margery Craige*, two of the Pannals,

Pannals, are by report of the Country ſaid to be Witches. Depones, that he having come to *Pollock*, he did ſee Sir *George Maxwel*, whoſe pains did recur, and that his pains and torments were greatly encreaſed in reſpect of what they were before the finding of the Picture of Wax. Depones, that upon the 8*th* of *January*, when they left the ſaid Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, the Deponent *James Dunlop* of *Houſil*, *Allan Douglace*, and ſeveral others, did go to the Houſe of *John Stuart* Warlock in *Pollock-ſhaw*, and there he found a Picture of Clay in the ſaid *John Stuart*'s Bed-ſtraw. Depones, that there were three Pins in the ſaid Picture of Clay, and that there was one in each ſide, and one in the Breaſt: and depones, that being returned to Sir *George* his Houſe, Sir *George* told the Deponent, that he found great eaſe of his pains, and that it was before the Deponent *Houſil* and the reſt did reveal to him that they had found the ſaid Picture of Clay; and further depones, that to his own obſervation he did perceive that Sir *George* had ſenſibly recovered. Depones, that they took the ſaid *John Stuart* Pannal Priſoner with them at the finding of the ſaid Effigies. And depones, that this is truth as he ſhall anſwer God. *Sic ſubſcrib.* Lodowick Stuart.

There follow more Depoſitions in the Copy, but theſe are the moſt for our purpoſe, and enough to diſcover that the Confeſſions of thoſe Witches are no Fables nor Dreams.

Advertiſement.

THeſe Confeſſions and Depoſitions are tranſcribed out of the Copy in the ſame *Scottiſh* Dialect that I found them; and ſeveral words there are which I profeſs I underſtand not, as thoſe for example concerning the black Man's Voice, that it was *hough* and *gouſtie:* But if the Voice of this black Man be like that of his who

appeared to the Witches whom Mr. *Hunt* examined, they may signifie a *big* and *low* Voice.

There is another *Scottish* Tryal of Witches amongst Mr. *Glanvil*'s Papers, with the same general subscription that this has, *viz. Robert Martin* Clerk to the Justice Court. But that is of too old a date, it being in the year 1590. to comply with the title of our Stories. But it being a true Copy of Record so Authentick, though not so fresh, it may haply not be amiss briefly to name some Effects, Kinds, or Circumstances of Witchcraft therein mentioned; such especially as have not occurred in the foregoing Stories; as the giving and taking away power from sundry mens Genital-Members, for which *Jannet Clark* was accused.

That which is observable in *John Fiene* is, that the Devil appeared to him not in *black*, but in *white* rayment; but proposed as hellish a Covenant to him as those Fiends that appear in black. As also lying dead two or three hours, and his Spirit tane, (as the Phrase in the Record is) his being carried or transported to many Mountains, and, as he thought, through the World, according to his own Depositions. His hearing the Devil preach in a Kirk in the Pulpit in the night by Candle-light, the Candle burning blue. That in a Conventicle of Witches, whose Names are specified in the Record, he with the rest, at parting, kissed the Devil's Breech; the Record speaks more broadly. His skimming on the Sea in a Boat with those of his Gang, and his foretelling the Leak in the Queens Ship by the help of the Devil. His raising Winds with the rest at the King's passage into *Denmark*, by casting a Cat into the Sea, which the Devil delivered to them, and taught them to cry *Hola* when they first cast it in. His raising a Mist at the King's return from *Denmark*, by getting Satan to cast a thing like a Foot-ball (it appearing to *John* like a Wisp) into the Sea, which made a vapour or reek to arise, whereby the King's Majesty might be cast upon the Coast of *England*. His hearing the Devil

again

again preach in a Pulpit in black, who after pointed them to Graves, to open and dismember the Corps therein; which done, incontinently they were transported without words. His opening Locks by Sorcery, as one by mere blowing into a Woman's hand while he sate by the Fire. His raising four Candles on the Luggs of an Horse, and another on the top of the Staff of his Rider in the night, that he made it as light as day; and how the Man fell down dead at the entring within his House at his return home. His embarquing in a Boat with other Witches, and sailing over Sea, and entring within a Ship, and drinking good Wine and Ale there, and sinking the Ship when they had done, with the persons in it. His kissing Satan's Breech again after another Conventicle. His being swiftly carried above in the chasing of a Cat to catch her to cast into the Sea, thereby to raise Winds, according to the prescription of Satan. His pretending to tell any Man how long he should live if he told him but the day of his birth.

There are also several things in *Agnes Sympson*'s Witchcraft, such as there scarce occur the like in the foregoing stories. As her skill in Diseases. That the sickness of *William Black* was an Elf-shot. Her hearing also of them by Sorcery, and foretelling the party whether he should live or die, and others how long they should live. Her taking the sick parties pains and sicknesses upon her self for a time, and then translating it to a third person. Her use of long scriptural Prayers and Rhymes, containing the main points of Christianity, so that she may seem to have been not so much a white Witch as an holy Woman. And yet it is upon Record that she made a Covenant with the Devil in the shape of a Man, and in such like hellish manner, as other Witches do. But when she sought for answers from the Devil upon any occasion, he appeared to her in the shape of a Dog; but the *formula* of her dismissing of him, was, *The charging him to depart on the Law he lives on*, as she did when she dismist him after her con-

ſulting him about the old Lady *Edmonſton*'s ſickneſs; but her invocation was, *Elva, come and ſpeak to me*, who came in the likeneſs of a Dog. Her ſailing with her Fellow-Witches in a Boat to a Ship, where the Devil cauſed her to drink good Wine, ſhe neither ſeeing the Mariners, nor the Mariners her. But after all, the Devil raiſed a Wind whereby the Ship periſhed. Her baptizing, and uſing other Ceremonies upon a Cat, with other Witches, to hinder the Queens coming into *Scotland*. Her raiſing of a Spirit to conjure a Picture of Wax for the deſtroying of Mr. *John Moſcrope*.

Hitherto I have brought but ſmall ſhreds out of this ancient Record, but I will conclude with a full Paragraph, it containing the Confeſſion of *Agnes Sympſon* to King *James* then of the *Scots*: Which is this.

Item, Fyled and convict for ſameckle as ſhe confeſt before his Majeſty, that the Devil in Mans likeneſs met her going out in the Fields from her own Houſe at *Keith* betwixt five and ſix at Even, being alone, and commandit her to be at *Northbervick*-Kirk the next night. And ſhe paſt then on Horſeback, conveyed by her Good-ſon called *John Couper*, and lighted at the Kirk-yard, or a little before ſhe came to it, about eleven hours at Even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, *Geilie Duncan* plaid to them on a Trump, *John Fien* muſſiled led all the reſt; the ſaid *Agnes* and her Daughter followed next. Beſides, there were *Kate Grey*, *George Moilis*'s Wife, *Robert Greirſon*, *Katharine Duncan*, *Beſſie Right*, *Iſabel Gilmore*, *John Graymaill*, *Duncan Buchanan*, *Thomas Barnhil* and his Wife, *Gilbert Macgil*, *Joh. Macgil*, *Katharine Macgil*, with the reſt of their Complices above an hundred perſons, whereof there were ſix Men, and all the reſt Women. The Women made firſt their homage, and then the Men. The Men were turned nine times widderſhins about, and the Women ſix times. *John Fien* blew up the Doors and blew in the Lights, which were like mickle black Candles ſticking round about the Pulpit. The Devil ſtartit up himſelf in the

Pulpit like a mickle black Man, and every one anſwered *Here.* Mr. *Robert Greirſon* being named, they all ran hirdie girdie, and were angry: for it was promiſed he ſhould be called *Robert* the *Comptroller*, alias *Rob* the *Rowar*, for expriming of his name. The firſt thing he demandit was, if they keept all promiſe, and been good Servants, and what they had done ſince the laſt time they had convened. At his command they opened up three Graves, two within, and ane without the Kirk, and took off the Joints of their Fingers, Toes, and Neiſe, and parted them amongſt them: and the ſaid *Agnes Sympſon* got for her part a Winding-ſheet and two Joynts. The Devil commandit them to keep the Joynts upon them while they were dry, and then to make a powder of them to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his Commandments, which were to do all the evil they could. Before they departed they kiſs'd his Breech; the Record ſpeaks more broad, as I noted before. He had on him ane Gown and ane Hat, which were both black: and they that were aſſembled, part ſtood and part ſate: *John Fien* was ever neareſt the Devil at his left Elbock, *Graymaill* keeped the door.

I have retained the Scotch Dialect here alſo, for the more Authenticknes of the matter, and have adjoined this large Paragraph, the Confeſſion therein contained being in all probability a more ſpecial occaſion of King *James* his changing his opinion touching the Exiſtence of Witches, which he was, as is reported, inclinable to think to be but a mere conceit before. For he was then but young, not paſſing five or ſix and twenty years of age when this Examination was had before him. And part of the Third Chapter of his Second Book of his *Dæmonologie* ſeems to be a Tranſcript of this very Confeſſion. Wherefore this being ſo conſiderable an occurrence touching a buſineſs of ſuch moment, the bringing in here ſo old a Story amongſt thoſe of freſher memory, will, I hope, bring along with it its own excuſe.

Thus have we contrived all the Relations in Mr. *Glanvil's*

vil's Papers which were thought considerable, into this second Part of his *Saducismus Triumphatus*. He once intended to subjoyn thereto an Answer to *Webster*, *Wagstaff*, and the *Authour of the Doctrine of Devils*, as you may observe from the first Section of his *Proof of Apparitions*, &c. *from holy Scripture*: but partly by bringing in already the chief things in that rude draught begun, into what is here published, and partly by stating the Question truly and with right judgment, he has prevented himself, and made that labour needless. As indeed in a manner it ever was, their Objections against Mr. *Glanvil*'s Opinion on these points, being wondrous weak, sorry, and sophistical, and such as it were pity that any Man of Parts, who can bestow his time better, should squander it away in confuting such trifles.

There is nothing that makes any least shew of strength, but that touching the palpability of the consistency of the Bodies of the Familiars of Witches, as if it weakned our Saviour's Argument to his Disciples for his Resurrection, where he bids them handle him and see, for a Spirit has not flesh and bones as they see him have. And he bids *Thomas* thrust his Hand into his Side, that they might be sure he was no Spectre or Spirit, but the very Christ with his Flesh, Bloud, and Bones, as he had before his Crucifixion; and they were as well ascertained of this, as sense, nay the surest sense, that of a Touch, or Feeling, could make them, that he had really Flesh and Bones, and such a temperament as humane Bodies have. Nor can any cavil avail against this from the Familiars of Witches, that will not as well weaken the assurance that we converse with such or such a Friend, but with some Spectre like him; So that the Allegation is as week as peevish and malicious. And if he should doubt whether it was his real Friend, or some Spectre, if his Friend should offer himself, as our Saviour did, to be touched, searched and felt, would not any body think it were sufficient assurance? But for a perverse Caviller, or crazy Sceptick, what is it that will satisfie them?

But

But it may be well ſaid, that there be concomitant conſiderations that will aſſure the party it is his Friend and not a Spectre. And are there not concomitant conſiderations here alſo? The ancient Prophecies, and Chriſt's own Prediction that he ſhould riſe from the dead out of the Grave. And that God is a God of truth, and not of unfaithfulneſs and impoſture: Which aſſurance is of a more high and divine Tenour than that of feeling his Body. And therefore our Saviour ſaith to *Thomas*; *THOMAS, becauſe thou haſt ſeen me thou haſt believed, Bleſſed are they that have not ſeen and yet have believed:* For it is a ſign that a more noble and heavenly principle is awakened in them, that diſpels that thick Miſt of Sceptical ſtupor and dulneſs. It is a ſign they are of a more holy, pure, and refined temper. And beſides all this, What Spectre ever challenged any one to make ſuch a Trial as this, to feel whether he was not very Fleſh and Bone as real Men are, when he would impoſe upon any? Or how is it proved, though Spirits can bring their Vehicle to a palpable conſiſtency, that they can turn it into ſuch as ſhall feel of the ſame articulate palpableneſs of Fleſh and Bone, and Temperament that are in living Men? Till this appear by confeſt experience to be in the palpable conſiſtency of Familiars or Spirits that tranſact with Witches, the Allegation is infinitely weak upon that account alſo, as weak as ſpightful and perverſe. But the Hag-Advocates will alledge any fooliſh thing rather than ſeem to be able to ſay nothing.

In the mean time I think it here ſeaſonable to declare, that though this intended Edition of *Saducifmus Triumphatus* had not the happineſs to be perfected by the ingenious Author's own hand before his death, yet ſuch Materials he left behind him, and the work in ſuch a forwardneſs, that things being put together in that order and diſtinctneſs which they are, the Diſcourſe may prove as *uſeful* for the reclaiming Men from *Saduciſm*, though perhaps not altogether ſo *delightful*, as if his own hand had

had had the polishing of it. And the publishing of it will also do him that right in the eyes of the World, that (whereas he was suspected haply for some complaisance towards some persons that were over-inclinable to *Hobbianism*, to have shrunk from the sense of such noble Theories, with which his Mind was enlightned in the Morning of his days) it from hence may appear that these things stuck close to him, and that he entertained them with a sincere warmth all along, as is evident from these Papers then private within his own Study-Walls. As the profession of them broke out from him most expresly when he lay on his Death-bed, as his intimate Friend Mr. *Thomas Alcock* largely sets down in a Letter written to Dr *H. More.* And I think that is the time, if ever that Men will speak their thoughts freely, as the Poet hath observed in the like case,

Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res.

To this Sense,

Then 'tis Men from their Hearts their Mind declare,
Cast off their Vizards, shew their Faces bare.

A Continuation OF THE COLLECTION.

OR, AN

ADDITION

Of some few

More Remarkable

AND

TRUE STORIES

OF

Apparitions and *Witchcraft.*

By *HENRY MORE*, D.D.

Whereunto is added Mr. *J. G.* his Letter to Dr. *H. M.* touching the stirs of *Tedworth*; With his *Reflections* on *Drollery* and *Atheism*, and the Doctor's *Advertisements* thereon.

LONDON,
Printed for *S. Lownds*, M DC LXXXVIII.

A Continuation OF THE COLLECTION.

RELAT. I.

A Transcription of a Narrative, *out of the* Natural History of Oxfordshire, *of the strange Passages that happened at* Woodstock, *Anno* 1649. *when the Commissioners for surveying the Mannor-House, Park, Deer, Woods, and other Demesns belonging to that Mannor, sate and lodged there.*

THE Commissioners *October* 13. 1649. with their Servants being come to the Mannor-House, they took up their Lodging in the King's own Rooms, the Bed-Chamber, and Withdrawing-Room: the former whereof they also made their Kitchin, the Council-Hall their Brew-House, the Chamber of Presence their place of sitting to dispatch Business, and a Wood-house of the Dining-Room, where they laid the Wood of that ancient Standard in the High-Park, known of all by the name of the *King's Oak*, which (that nothing might remain that had the name of King affixed to it) they digged up by the Roots. *October* the 14*th* and

15*th*,

15*th*, they had little diſturbance; but on the 16*th* there came, as they thought, ſomewhat into the Bed-Chamber, where two of the Commiſſioners and their Servants lay, in the ſhape of a Dog, which going under their Beds, did, as it were, gnaw their Bed-cords. But on the Morrow finding them whole, and a quarter of Beef, which lay on the ground untouched, they began to entertain other thoughts.

October 17. Something to their thinking removed all the Wood of the King's Oak out of the Dining-Room into the Preſence-Chamber, and hurled the Chairs and Stools up and down that Room. From whence it came into the two Chambers where the Commiſſioners and their Servants lay, and hoyſted up their Beds Feet ſo much higher than the Heads, that they thought they ſhould have been turned over and over; and then let them fall down with ſuch a force, that their Bodies rebounded from the Bed a good diſtance, and then ſhook the Bedſteads ſo violently, that themſelves confeſt their Bodies were ſore with it. *October* 18. Something came into the Bed-Chamber and walkt up and down, and fetching the Warming-Pan out of the Withdrawing-Room, made ſo much noiſe that they thought five Bells could not have made more. And *October* 19. Trenchers were thrown up and down the Dining-Room, and at them that lodged there, whereof one of them being being ſhaken by the ſhoulder, and awakened, put forth his head to ſee what was the matter, but had Trenchers thrown at it.

October 20. The Curtains of the Bed in the Withdrawing-Room were drawn to and fro, and the Bedſtead much ſhaken, and eight great Pewter-Diſhes, and three dozen of Trenchers thrown about the Bed-chamber again. This night they alſo thought whole arm-fuls of the Wood of the King's Oak thrown down in their Chambers, but of that in the Morning they found nothing had been moved.

October 21. The Keeper of their Ordinary and his Bitch,

Bitch, lay in one of the Rooms with them, which night they were not diſturbed at all. But *October* 22. though the Bitch kennel'd there again, to whom they aſcribed their former nights reſt, both they and the Bitch were in a pitiful taking, the Bitch opening but once, and that with a whining fearful Yelp. *October* 23. They had all their Clothes pluckt off them in the Withdrawing Room, and the Bricks fell out of the Chimney into the Room; and the 24*th* they thought in the Dining-Room that all the Wood of the King's Oak had been brought thither, and thrown down cloſe by their Bedſide: which Noiſe being heard by thoſe of the Withdrawing-Room, one of them roſe to ſee what was done, fearing indeed that his fellow Commiſſioners had been killed, but found no ſuch matter: whereupon returning to his Bed again, he found two dozen of Trenchers thrown into it, and handſomely covered with the Bedclothes.

October 25. The Curtains of the Bed in the Withdrawing-Room were drawn to and fro, and the Bedſtead ſhaken as before, and in the Bed-Chamber Glaſs flew about ſo thick (and yet not a Pane of the Chamber windows broken) that they thought it had rained Money. Whereupon they lighted Candles, but to their Grief they found nothing but Glaſs. *October* 29 Something walked in the Withdrawing-Room about an Hour, and going to the Window, opened and ſhut it; then going into the Bed-chamber, it threw great Stones for about half an hours time, ſome whereof lighted on the High-bed, others on the Truckle-bed, to the number in all of above fourſcore. This night there was alſo a very great Noiſe, as if forty Pieces of Ordnance had been ſhot off together. At two ſeveral Knocks it aſtoniſhed all the neighbouring Dwellers, which is thought might have been heard a greater way off. During theſe Noiſes, which were heard in both Rooms together, both Commiſſioners and Servants were ſtruck with ſo great horrour that they cried out to one another for Help: whereof

one of them recovering himſelf out of a ſtrange Agony he had been in, ſnatcht up a Sword, and had like to have killed one of his Brethren coming out of his Bed in his Shirt, whom he took for the Spirit that did the miſchief. However, at length they got all together, yet the noiſe continued ſo great and terrible, and ſhook the Walls ſo much, that they thought the whole Mannor would have fallen on their heads. At its departure it took all the Glaſs away with it.

November 1. Something, as they thought, walkt up and down the Withdrawing-Room, and then made a noiſe in the Dining-Room. The Stones that were left before, and laid up in the Withdrawing-Room, were all fetcht away this night, and a great deal of Glaſs (not like the former) thrown about again. *November* 2. came ſomething into the Withdrawing-Room, treading, as they conceived, much like a Bear, which firſt only walked about a quarter of an hour; at length it made a noiſe about the Table, and threw the Warming-Pan ſo violently, that it quite ſpoiled it. It threw alſo Glaſs, and great Stones at them again, and the Bones of Horſes, and all ſo violently, that the Bed-ſtead and Walls were bruiſed by them. This night they ſet Candles all about the Rooms, and made Fires up to the Mantle-trees of the Chimneys, but all were put out, no body knew how, the Fire and Billets, that made it, being thrown up and down the Rooms, the Curtains torn with the Rods from their Beds, and the Bed-poſts pulled away, that the Teſter fell down upon them, and the feet of the Bed-ſtead cloven in two. And upon the Servants in the Truckle-bed, who lay, all this time, ſweating for fear, there was firſt a little, which made them begin to ſtir, but before they could get out, there came a whole Cowl, as it were, of ſtinking Ditch-water down upon them, ſo green, that it made their Shirts and Sheets of that colour too.

The ſame night the Windows were all broke, by throwing of Stones, and there were moſt terrible noiſes

in

in the three ſeveral places together, to the extraordinary wonder of all that lodged near them; nay, the very Coney-ſtealers, that were abroad that night, were ſo affrighted with the diſmal thundring, that for haſte they left their Ferret in the Coney-burroughs behind them, beyond *Roſamond*'s *Well*. Notwithſtanding all this, one of them had the boldneſs to ask, in the name of God, what it was, what it would have, and what they had done that they ſhould be diſturbed in this manner? To which no Anſwer was given, but the noiſe ceaſed for a while. At length it came again, and, as all of them ſaid, brought ſeven Devils worſe than it ſelf. Whereupon one of them lighted a Candle again, and ſet it between the two Chambers, in the Door-way, on which another of them fixing his eyes, ſaw the ſimilitude of a Hoof, ſtriking the Candle and Candle-ſtick into the middle of the Bed-Chamber, and afterwards making three ſcrapes on the ſnuff to put it out. Upon this, the ſame Perſon was ſo bold as to draw his Sword; but he had ſcarce got it out, but there was another inviſible hand had hold of it too, and tugged with him for it, and prevailing, ſtruck him ſo violently with the Pummel, that he was ſtunned with the Blow.

Then began grievous noiſes again, inſomuch, that they calling to one another, got together, and went into the Preſence-Chamber, where they ſaid Prayers, and ſang Pſalms, notwithſtanding all which, the thundring noiſe ſtill continued in other Rooms. After this, *November* 3. they removed their Lodgings over the Gate, and next day, being Sunday, went to *Ewelin*, where how they eſcaped, the Authors of the Relations knew not; but returning on Monday, the Devil (for that was the name they gave their nightly Gueſt) left them not unviſited, nor on the Tueſday following, which was the laſt day they ſtayed.

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THAT the matter of Fact is true we have all assurance desirable, from what the Writer of the Natural History of Oxfordshire, *declares before he comes to the Narrative it self,* viz. *That he had several Relations put into his hands, and one of them written by a learned and faithful Person then living upon the place. Which was confirmed to him by several Eye-witnesses of many of the particulars, and all of them by one of the Commissioners themselves, who ingenuously confest to him, that he could not deny but that what was written by that Person abovementioned, was all true. So that for matter of Fact there can be no doubt. Onely the Historian makes a Scruple, which is much according to the Mode of this Age,* whether all these Pranks might not be plaid by Combination. *It being a gentile thing, and much in the fashion, not to seem over credulous that any such things are done by any* Dæmons *or* Spirits. *Yet the nature of some of these Exploits here mentioned, extorts a Confession from him, even whether he will or no, that they are not reconcileable to Juggling.*

Such, says he, are (1.) *the extraordinary noises beyond the power of Man to make without such instruments as were not there.* (2.) *The tearing down and splitting the Bed-posts, and putting out so many Candles, and so great Fires, no body knows how.* (3.) *A visible shape seen of an Horse's Hoof treading out a Candle. And* (4.) *a tugging with one of them for his Sword by an invisible Hand. By which, I suppose, is meant an unperceptible hand. For the hand must needs be invisible, the Candle being put out in that season of the year. But it was such an hand as if the Candle had been light, could not have been seen. Forasmuch as though he felt in the dark that tugging for his Sword, he could not feel or lay hold on the hand or arm, or any part of any palpable person*

Perſon that tugged with him. This may be ſaid if this tugging for his Sword was far in the Night, about or paſt Midnight; but if it was earlier in the Night, the Party might have ſeen the Hand that tugged for the Sword, if it had not been a hand of its own Nature inviſible: For the Moon was then at leaſt ſeven or eight days old, if I compute right out of the ſecond Ptolemaick Tables in N. Mulerius.

Theſe indeed are the moſt material Arguments to prove that all here was not Juggling or Combination. And indeed how could it be a Combination, when as the Story runs upon one Perſon all along, calling it the Thing or Something? So that it ſeems all to be performed by one Perſon or Power. Beſides, thoſe Artiſts in Waggery, how could they train up a Dog to gnaw Bed-cords, and forbear eating of Beef, when it lay ſo fairly for him on the Floor? And what an operoſe Buſineſs, and how little worth the while for any ſingle Perſon to remove all the Wood of the King's Oak out of one Room into another? and more unlikely that he could make ſuch a noiſe, as if he did it, when he did it not. And the flinging of Trenchers and Stones in ſuch Numbers near Men, and hurting none by them, ſeems to me not probable to be within the Skill of an ordinary Man to perform; as alſo to make ſuch a Noiſe as if whole Arm-fulls of the King's Oak were flung down by their Bed-ſides on the Floor of their Chamber, whereas not one ſtick was found to be caſt there.

The whining alſo and fearful Yelp of the Bitch, was a ſhrewd ſign of the Approach not of an ordinary Man, but of ſome evil Thing, as the vulgar call it. And what a skilful Wag muſt he be that could imitate ſo the gate of a Bear as if ſuch a Beaſt was come into the Room; or have ſuch ſtrength as to cleave the Feet of a Bed-ſtead into two, without Axe or Saw? And did theſe Wags ſo combine, as ſome to ſet Ladders to climb to the top of the Chimney, to fling down Bricks, while others play'd other Tricks in the Chamber? The whole Texture in a manner of the Story is ſuch, that it argues the things not done by Combination and Waggery, but by the Frolick Activity of ſome Spirits or Dæmons.

And to conclude; how exceeding improbable is it that the Parties in the House, after they had been twice or thrice molested, would not make their Doors so fast that no Man could come at them, and that they were not so well weaponed, that no Man single would venture his Person only to play a many odd Tricks and Frolicks to terrifie them and scare them, who though he escaped being killed upon the spot, might be apprehended and severely punished, they having got the Power *on their side, though not the* Right, *whatever Mr.* Hobbs *may judge in these Cases.*

Wherefore it is manifest that these Pranks were play'd by Dæmons, *as that learned Physician Dr.* Willis, *a good many years ago did readily acknowledge to me, and avouched such things as are here related in the Story to be undoubtedly true, when I had the Opportunity of conversing with him at my Lord* Conway's *at* Ragly *in* Warwickshire.

RELAT. II.

Another Transcription out of the forementioned History, of a strange Relation touching the Family of one Captain Wood, *late of* Bampton, *now* Brize-norton, *Captain in the late Wars for the King, What strange Knockings used to be heard a little before the Death of those of that Family.*

THe first Knocking that was heard, or at least observed, was about a year after the Restauration of the King, in the afternoon, a little before Night, as it was apprehended by Mrs. *Elenor Wood*, Mother to Captain *Basil Wood*, who only heard it, none being then by, or about the House, but her self; at which she was very much disturbed, thinking it boded some ill to her or hers, and within fourteen Nights after she had news of the Death of her Son-in-Law Mr. *George Smith*, who died in *London*.

About

About three years after that, there were three great Knocks given very audibly to all that were then in the House, *viz.* to the foresaid Mrs. *Elenor Wood*, Mr *Basil Wood*, and his Wife Mrs. *Hester*, and some Servants. Which Knocks were so remarkable that one of the Maids came from the Well which was about twenty Yards from the Place, to see what was the matter. And Mrs. *Elenor Wood*, and another Maid that was within the House, saw three great Pans of Lard shake and totter so upon a shelf in the Milkhouse, that they were like to fall down. Upon this violent Knocking Mr. *Basil Wood*, and his Wife, being then in the Hall, came presently into the Milkhouse to their Mother; where finding her somewhat disturbed, and enquiring the Reason, she replied, *God Almighty only knew the Matter, she could tell nothing*; but she heard the Knocking; which being within doors, Mr. *Basil Wood* concluded must be for some of the Family at home, that *upon the Door being for a Friend abroad.* Which accordingly fell out, three of the Family, according to the Number of the Knocks, dying within little more than half a year after, *viz.* Mrs. *Hester Wood*, Wife to Mr. *Basil Wood*, a Child of Mr. *Wood*'s Sister, and Mrs. *Elenor Wood*, his Mother.

About *August* 1674. Mr. *Basil Wood* Junior, Son of *Basil* aforesaid, living at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, heard the same kind of Knocking; at which being disturbed, he wrote word of it to his Father here at *Bampton* in *Oxfordshire*, *viz.* That on Sunday he and his Wife, and her Sister, and his Brother, did distinctly hear upon a Table in their Chamber, as they stood by it, two several Knocks, struck as it were with a Cudgil, one of them before, and the other after Morning-Prayer, a little before Dinner, which Letter was shewn by Mr. *Wood* Senior (as the other Knockings before the Deaths of any that died were beforehand told) to several neighbouring Gentlemen. After which, within about Fourteen days, Mrs. *Hester Wood* the second Wife of Mr. *Basil*

Wood Senior, and about a quarter of a Year after, her Father Mr. *Richard Lisset*, died both at *Bampton*, since which time they have heard nothing as yet.

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These prognostick Signs before the Death of some Men, is a thing noted by Historians, and Philosophers; which are made sometimes by some Apparition *of some deceased Person of the same Family, or by some other* Spectre, *sometimes by an* audible Voice, *calling the Party by Name; which I heard to have happened to some Seamen upon the Sea; Sometime by* Musick, *as I heard credibly reported of a whole Family that died one after another in a little time; and ever some while before any of the House fell sick; there was* Musick *heard to go from the House (though nothing seen) playing all along, which several People out of curiosity would follow, who observed it to pass through the Field till it came to a Wood, and there they left it or lost it This happened in* Suffolk, *and was told for a certain to a Friend of mine, by Mr.* Samson, *not long since Fellow of* King's Colledge *here in* Cambridge. *Sometimes the Appearance of Lights presages the Death of some of a Family, and the number according to the number of the Lights. Which happened a very few years ago to a Family of great Quality in* Ireland, *three Lights dancing upon a place they call* Fairy Mount. *I spoke with one that was a Spectator thereof for half an hour together, and observed the Lights, though moved swiftly, how their Flames were not cast* Horizontally, *but went straight up to the* Zenith, *who noted also, that two of the Family, since that Sign, were lately dead already, and suspected a third would follow, which accordingly fell out the same year a little while after. The Story I have set down more compleatly in my* Scholia *upon* Chap 8. Book 3. *of my* Immortality *of the* Soul. *So that this hint is enough here.*

Paracelsus, *that fanciful Physician imputes all to the officiousness of the Stars, that give these Signs. But what*

Beam

Beam of a Star could give ſuch a Rap *upon a Table, as is recorded to have happened in Captain* Wood's *Family? Certainly theſe things cannot be done but by the Activity of* Dæmons *or* Spirits. *And this preſent Example is as inſtructive, or more than any of the ſtrange* Statick *or* Syſtaltick *Power that Spirits have to give ſuch a momentany firmneſs and hardneſs to their Vehicles as to make ſuch a ſmart Noiſe as if it were made with Wood or Metal. But it is not my Scope to philoſophize here about theſe things, but only to tell the Stories. And there is a Paſſage in the following Story I ſhall ſet down, which is an eminent example of this* Syſtaltick *Power of the Spirits,* viz. *an Arm ſeen from the Hand to the Elbow ſtriking ſuch a ſtroak upon the Floor, that it made the very Walls of the Houſe to ſhake with it.*

RELAT. III.

A remarkable Story touching the Stirs made by a Dæmon *in the Family of one* Gilbert Campbell, *by Profeſſion a Weaver, in the old Pariſh of* Glenluce *in* Galloway *in* Scotland.

IT happened in *October*, 1654. that after one *Alexander Agnew*, a bold and ſturdy Beggar, who afterwards was hanged at *Dumfreis*, for Blaſphemy, had threatned hurt to *Gilbert Campbell*'s Family, becauſe he had not gotten ſuch an Alms as he required; the ſaid *Gilbert* was oftentimes hindred in the exerciſe of his Calling, all his Working Inſtruments being, ſome of them broken, ſome of them cut, and yet could not know by what means this hurt was done. Which Piece of Trouble did continue till about the middle of *November*; at which time the Devil came with new and extraordinary Aſſaults, by throwing of Stones in at Doors and Windows, and down through the Chimney head, which were of great quantity, and thrown with great force, yet by God's good Providence there was not one Perſon

Person of the Family hurt or suffered damage thereby. This Piece of new and sore trouble did necessitate Mr. *Campbell* to reveal that to the Minister of the Parish, and to some other Neighbours and Friends which hitherto he had endured secretly. Yet notwithstanding this his trouble was enlarged; for not long after he found oftentimes his Warp and Threads cut as with a pair of Scizzers, and the Reed broken; and not only this, but their Apparel cut after the same manner, even while they were wearing them, their Coats, Bonnets, Hose, Shoes, but could not discern how or by what means. Only it pleased God to preserve their Persons, that the least harm was not done. Yet in the night time they wanted liberty to sleep, something coming and pulling their Bedclothes and Linnens off them, and leaving their Bodies naked.

Next, their Chests and Trunks were opened, and all things in them strewed here and there. Likewise the parts of the working Instruments, that had escaped, were carried away and hid in holes and bores of the House, where hardly they could be found again. Nay, whatever piece of cloth or Houshould-stuff was in any part of the House, it was carried away, and so cut and abused, that the Good-man was necessitated with all haste and speed to remove and transport the rest to a neighbour's House, and he himself compelled to quit the exercise of his Calling, whereby only he maintained his Family. Yet he resolved to remain in the House for a Season. During which time some Persons thereabout, not very judicious, councelled him to send his Children out of the Family here and there (to try whom the Trouble did most follow, assuring him that this Trouble was not against all the Family, but against some one Person or other in it) whom he too willingly obeyed. Yet for the space of four or five Days after, there were no remarkable Assaults as before.

The Minister hearing thereof, shewed him the evil of such a course, and assured him, that if he repented

not,

not, and called back his Children, he might not expect that his trouble would end in a right way. The Children that were nigh by, being called home, no trouble followed, till one of his Sons, called *Thomas*, that was farthest off, came home. Then did the Devil begin afresh; for upon the Lord's Day following, in the afternoon, the House was set on fire, but by his Providence, and the help of some people going home from Sermon the Fire was extinguished, and the House saved, not much loss being done. And the Monday after being spent in private Prayer and Fasting, the House was again set on fire, upon the Tuesday, about nine of the Clock in the morning; yet by Providence, and the help of Neighbours, it was saved before any harm was done.

Mr. *Campbell* being thus wearied and vexed, both in the day, and in the night, went to the Minister, desiring him to let his Son *Thomas* abide with him for a time, who condescended, but withal assured him that he would find himself deceived, and so it came to pass. For notwithstanding that the Child was without the Family, yet were they that remained in it sore troubled, both in the day time, and in the night season, so that they were forced to wake till midnight, and sometime all the night over. During which time, the Persons within the Family suffered many losses, as the Cutting of their Cloaths, the throwing of Peats, the pulling down of Turf and Feal from the Roof and Walls of the House, and the stealing of their Apparel, and the pricking of their Flesh and Skin with Pins. The Presbytery having convened at the place for a solemn Humiliation, perswaded *Gilbert Campbell* to call back his Son *Thomas*, notwithstanding whatsoever hazard might follow. The Boy returning home, affirmed that he heard a voice speak to him, forbidding him to enter within the House, or into any other place where his Father's Calling was exercised. Yet he entred, but was sore abused, till he was forced to return to the Minister's House again. Upon

Upon Monday the 12*th*. of *February*, the reſt of the Family began to hear a voice ſpeak to them, but could not well know from whence it came. Yet from evening till midnight too much vain Diſcourſe was kept up with the Devil, and many idle and impertinent queſtions propoſed without that due fear of God that ſhould have been upon their Spirits under ſo rare and extraordinary a Tryal. The Miniſter hearing of this, went to the Houſe upon the Tueſday, being accompanied with ſome Gentlemen, who after Prayer was ended, heard a voice ſpeaking out of the Ground, from under a Bed, in the proper Countrey Dialect, ſaying, *Would you know the Witches of* Glenluce, *I will tell you them*, and ſo related four or five Perſons names that went under an evil Report. The ſaid *Gilbert* informed the Company, that one of them was dead long ago. The Devil anſwered, *It is true, ſhe is dead long ago, yet her Spirit is living with us in the World*. The Miniſter replyed, ſaying, *The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and put thee to ſilence, we are not to receive any information from thee, whatſoever fame any Perſons go under; thou art but ſeeking to ſeduce this Family, for Satan's Kingdom is not divided againſt it ſelf.*

After which, all went to Prayer again; which being ended (for during the time of Prayer no trouble was made) the Devil, with many threatnings, boaſted and terrified the Lad *Thomas*, who had come back that day with the Miniſter, that if he did not depart out of the Houſe, he would ſet all on fire. The Miniſter anſwered, and ſaid, *The Lord will preſerve the Houſe, and the Boy too, ſeeing he is one of the Family, and hath God's Warrant to tarry in it.* The Devil anſwered, *He ſhall not get liberty to ſtay, he was once put out already, and ſhall not abide here, though I ſhould purſue him to the end of the World.* The Miniſter replyed, *The Lord will ſtop thy malice againſt him.*

And then they all prayed again, which being ended, the Devil ſaid, *Give me a Spade and a Shovel, and depart*

part from the House for seven days, and I shall make a Grave and lye down in it, and shall trouble you no more. The Good Man answered, *Not so much as a Straw shall be given thee, through God's assistance, even though that would do it.* The Minister also added, *God shall remove thee in due time.* The Devil answered, *I will not remove for you, I have my Commission from* Christ *to tarry and vex this Family.* The Minister answered, *A permission thou hast indeed, but God will stop it in due time.* The Devil replyed, *I have* (Mes John) *a Commission that perhaps will last longer than your own.* After which the Minister and the Gentlemen arose, and went to the place where the Voice seemed to come from, to try if they could find any thing. And after diligent search, nothing being found, the Gentlemen began to say, *We think this voice speaks out of the Children*, for some of them were in their Beds. The Devil answered, *You lye, God shall judge you for Lying, and I and my Father will come and fetch you to Hell with* Warlock *Thieves.* And so the Devil discharged the Gentlemen to speak any more; saying, *Let him speak that hath a Commission* (meaning the Minister) *for he is the Servant of God.*

The Gentlemen returning back with the Minister, thy sate down near to the place whence the Voice seemed to come from, and then he spake to them after this manner, *The Lord will rebuke this Spirit in his own time, and cast it out.* The Devil answering, said, *It is written in the 9th of* Mark *the Disciples could not cast him out.* The Minister replyed, *What the Disciples could not do, yet the Lord having heightned the Parents Faith for his own Glory, did cast him out, and so shall he thee.* The Devil reply'd, *It is written in the 4th of* Luke, *And he departed and left him for a season.* The Minister said, *The Lord in the days of his Humiliation, not only got the Victory over Satan in that assault in the Wilderness, but when he came again, his success was no better. For it is written,* John 14. Behold the Prince of this World cometh, and hath nothing in me. *And being now in Glory, he will*

fulfil

fulfil his Promiſe, and God ſhall bruiſe Satan under your feet ſhortly, Rom. 16. The Devil anſwered, *It is written*, Mat. 25. *There were ten Virgins, five wiſe and five fooliſh, and the Bridegroom came, The fooliſh Virgins had no Oyl in their Lamps, and they went unto the wiſe to ſeek Oyl, and the wiſe ſaid, Go and buy for your ſelves, and while they went, the Bridegroom came and entred in, and the Door was ſhut; and the fooliſh Virgins were ſent to Hell Fire.* The Miniſter anſwered, *The Lord knows the ſincerity of his Servants, and though there be ſin and folly in us here, yet there is a fountain opened to the Houſe of* David, *for ſin and for uncleanneſs; and when he hath waſhed us there, and pardoned all our ſins for his name ſake, he will caſt the unclean Spirit out of the Land.* The Devil anſwered, and ſaid, *That place of Scripture is written in the 13th of* Zechariah. *In that day I will cauſe the Prophets and the unclean Spirit to paſs out of the Land; But afterwards it is written, I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered.* The Miniſter anſwered, *Well are we that our Bleſſed Shepherd was ſmitten, and thereby hath bruiſed thy head; and albeit, in the hour of his ſuffering, his Diſciples forſook him*, Mat. 26. *yet now having aſcended on high, he ſits in glory, and is preſerving, gathering in, and turning his hand upon his little ones, and will ſave his poor ones in this Family from thy Malice.*

The Miniſter returning back a little, and ſtanding upon the Floor, the Devil ſaid, *I knew not theſe Scriptures till my Father taught me them. I am an evil Spirit, and Satan is my Father, and I am come to vex this Houſe;* and preſently there appeared a naked Hand and an Arm, from the Elbow down, beating upon the Floor till the Houſe did ſhake again, and alſo the Devil utter'd a moſt fearful and loud cry, ſaying, *Come up, Father, come up, I will ſend my Father among you. See there he is behind your backs.* The Miniſter ſaid, *I ſaw indeed an hand and an arm when the ſtroak was given and heard.* The Devil ſaid to him, *Saw you that, it was not my hand, it was my Father's, my hand is more black in the loof. Would you ſee*

me?

me? put out the Candle then, and I shall come about the House among you like Fire-balls. After which all went to Prayer, during which time it did no harm, neither at any other time when God was worshipped. When Prayer was ended, the Devil said, (Yes John) *If the Good-man's Son's Prayers at the Colledge of* Glasgow *did not prevail more with God than yours, my Father and I had wrought a Mischief here ere now.* To which one of the Gentlemen replyed, though a Check had been given him before: *Well, Well, I see you confess there is a God, and that Prayer prevails with him, and therefore we must pray to God, and will commit the event to him.* To which the Devil replied, *Yea, Sir, you speak of Prayer with your broad-lipped Hat* (for the Gentleman had lately gotten a new Hat in the Fashion with broad Lips) *I will bring a pair of Shears from my Father that shall clip the Lips of it a little.*

The night now being far spent, it was thought fit every one should withdraw to his own home. Then did the Devil cry out fearfully, *Let not the Minister go home, I shall burn the House if he go, and many other ways did he threaten.* And after the Minister was gone forth, the Good-man being instant with him to tarry; thereupon he returned, all the rest of the Company going home. Then said the Devil to the Minister, *You have done my bidding.* *Not thine*, answered he, *but in obedience to God have I returned to bear this man company whom thou dost afflict.* Then did the Minister call upon the Name of God; and when Prayer was ended, he discharged Mr. *Campbell*, and all the Persons of the Family from opening their Mouths in one word to the Evil Spirit; and when it spake, that they should only kneel down and speak to God. The Devil then roared mightily, and cryed out, *What will ye not speak to me, I shall burn the House, I shall strike the Bairns, and do all manner of Mischief.* But after that time no answer was made to it, and so for a long time no speech was heard. After this the said *Gilbert* suffered much loss, and had many sad nights,

not two nights in one Week free, and thus it continued till *April*. From *April* to *July* he had ſome reſpite and eaſe. But after he was moleſted with new Aſſaults, and even their Victuals were ſo abuſed that the Family was in hazard of ſtarving, and that which they did eat, gave them not the ordinary ſatisfaction they were wont to find.

In this ſore and ſad Affliction, Mr. *Campbel* reſolved to make his Addreſs to the Synod of Presbyters for advice and counſel, what to do, which was appointed to convene in *Octo*. 1655. namely whether to forſake the Houſe and Place, or not. The Synod by their Committee appointed to meet at *Glenluce* in *Febr*. 1656. thought fit that a ſolemn Humiliation ſhould be kept through all the bounds of the Synod, and amongſt other Cauſes, to requeſt God in behalf of that poor afflicted Family; which being carefully done, the Event was, thorough the Prayers of his People, that his Trouble grew leſs till *April*, and from *April* to *Auguſt* he was altogether free. About which time the Devil began with new Aſſaults, and taking the ready Meat that was in the Houſe, did ſometimes hide it in holes by the Door-Poſts, and at other times did hide it under the Beds, and ſometimes among the Bed-clothes, and under the Linnens, and at laſt did carry it quite away, till nothing was left there ſave only Bread and Water to live by. After this he exerciſed his Malice and Cruelty againſt all the Perſons of the Family in wearying them in the night-time with ſtirring and moving through the Houſe, ſo that they had no reſt for Noiſe, which continued all the Month of *Auguſt*, after this manner. After which time the Devil grew yet worſe, and began with terrible Roarings and terrifying Voices, ſo that no Perſon could ſleep in the Houſe in the Night time, and ſometimes did vex them with caſting of Stones, ſtriking them with Staves on their Beds in the Night time; And upon the Eighteenth of *September* about Midnight, he cryed out with a loud Voice, I ſhall burn the Houſe, and about three or four Nights after, he

he set one of the Beds on Fire, which was soon extinguished, without any prejudice, except the Bed it self, and so he continued to vex them.

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T*His Narrative I have in a manner verbatim Transcribed out of the* Miscellaneous Observations *of Mr.* G. Sinclare, *which are added to his* Treatise of Hydrostaticks; *Which nothing but the certainty of the truth thereof, and usefulness for the refuting of Saducism, could have tempted him to insert, it being an* Observation *so Heterogeneous to all the rest. And therefore I thought it worth the while to reduce it into its more proper place, himself acknowledging it to be something an unsuitable piece to the Contexture of the rest of his Book, but that he put it in, only to convince the incredulous World of the Existence of Spirits,. whose being he conceives it does more than probably evince, that is to say, demonstratively, supposing it true. Which that it is, the Narrative it self seems sufficiently to make good, the Stirs there made being so long, and so publick, and so repeatedly, and the things writ by Mr.* Campbel's *own Son who knew them exactly, and I have heard the truth of the Story averr'd with all assurance my self by some of that Country. And the Narration is so simple and plain, and without design, (it being rather a Colluctation of Mes* John *and the Presbytery on one side, and the foul Fiend, with his black Loofs, assisted by Satan his Father on the other side, than any clear Victory) that that also ought to gain belief thereto. Not to add that the very abruptness of its ending shews it to be fresh writ, while the thing was doing, and that meer Matter of Fact was the measure of the Writer's Pen.*

I will conclude all with the Information of Dr. G. Burnet, *that able and impartial Writer of the History of the Reformation in* England, *who upon my enquiry told me this, That*

he living in Glasgow *some years, found all People there and in the Country about, fully perswaded of the truth of Matter of Fact, and that he never heard any thing objected to Mr.* Sinclare's *Relation, but that it was too short, whenas all the passages of that Apparition would make a Volume, and that there was a full Relation thereof attested under the hands of Eye-witnesses; And to be short, I have greater assurance of the truth of this Story than I think fit to declare. The most remarkable passage in the whole Narrative, is the naked Arm, from the Elbow downwards, appearing by it self, without any other parts of any visible Person, as the shape of an Horse's Hoof in the first Story, without any other parts of an Horse. Which puts me in mind of the Apparition* Elkerken, *which* Wierus *makes mention of in his* De Præstigiis Dæmonum, *that used to haunt the High-way in an heathy place not far from* Embrica *in the* Dutchy *of* Cleve *in the* Lower-Germany. *Nothing was seen but a meer Hand, which would beat Travellers as they passed that way, pull them off of their Horses, and overthrow Carriages.*

As for the cutting and snipping of things, that is but what has happened more frequently to those that have been infested by Witchcraft. A notable example whereof a Reverend and Learned Friend of mine told me in a Man's Daughter of North-Cadbury *in* Somersetshire, *that for some Months together, she could put on no clean Linnens nor Holiday Cloths, but they would be snipt and slasht full of holes, as her Father for certain related of her to him. And of this snipping, besides the Narrative of* Gilbert Campbel, *there is a fresh Example of it in a Story within these three or four years touching Witchcraft practised on the Family of* William Medcalfe *of* Lessingham, (*Sect.* 12, 13, 18.) *which is as follows.*

RE-

RELAT. IV.

A true Account how Alice *the Daughter of* William Medcalfe *Yeoman, in the Parish of* Lessingham *in* Lincolnshire, *was disturbed by an* Apparition, *with other feats of* Witchcraft *practised upon that Family, sent from Mr.* William Wyche *dwelling in the same Parish, to Mr.* J. Richardson *Fellow of* Emanuel *Colledge in* Cambridge.

1. IN the Year 1678. on the *Sunday* after Twelfth-Day, *William Medcalfe* and his Wife went to Church, leaving their only Daughter *Alice* at home, and whilst they were there the said *Alice* heard a noise in the Yard, and looking out at the Window, she saw a Man of a middle Stature, with Light Flaxen-Hair, standing at the Stable-Door, upon which she called out at the Window, and demanded of him what he did there? He returned, that he came for a Horse which he borrowed of her Father She made him answer again, that she knew nothing of it, and that he should have none till her Father came home. He received the answer, and went away for that day.

2. The next day her Father and Mother being gone to *Sleeford*-Market, she saw him again at the Stable-Door, and demanded of him as before. He told her, *She might go look.* Then he asked her where the Horses were. She answered him again as short, told him, *He might go look.* Upon this he began to sooth and flatter her, and gave her many softening words going towards the Door as he spake, as if he intended to go in to her: which she observing, she hastened and bolted the Door fast. Upon which he threatned her, (what his Threats were she cannot recal) but some body knocking at the Door on the other side of the House, and she understanding it was a Neighbour, opened the Door, and told her Neighbour all that had passed, and upon it they both

ran together into the Yard, to ſee if he were there, but they could not find him, neither knew they which way he went.

3. After this ſhe was quiet for ſome time, only about two Weeks before *Shrove-tide*, one *Follet* a Cobler, and ſuſpected to be the occaſion of all that happened, came to the Houſe, and they did ſet him to work, moved thereto, I ſuppoſe, by fear, for he had threatned the Daughter, but for what I cannot learn. Whilſt he was working he began to diſcourſe to the Mother to this effect, that her Daughter ſhould die that year, that he had examined ſome Books which he had, and that he underſtood ſo much by them. And when he had done his work, he bid them farewel, telling them, *He was ſure they would think of* Follet *when they did not ſee him.* Soon after this, *Alice* fell ſick, and her Mother was ſomewhat doubtful of her Recovery, but as it pleaſed God, ſhe was reſtored again to her former health, and continued undiſturbed till *May*, the Week before *Whitſuntide*.

4. And then as ſhe was drawing Water at a Well in the Yard, ſhe ſaw the ſame Perſon again, which I firſt deſcribed, at the Houſe Door, with a great Club, endeavouring, as ſhe thought, to break the Door open. Upon this ſhe called to him, and askt him what he did there. Upon the ſpeaking he flung down the Club among a great many Earthen Milk-pans, or Panchins, as they call them, and with ſo great violence, that ſhe could not conceive but that he had broken many of them, but afterwards upon examination ſhe found them all whole. As ſoon as he had done this he went away, and ſhe, leaving her Pail at the Well, followed him, and ſaw him go down the Street, but at the turning of the Lane loſt the ſight of him, and could not recover it. This was on Monday, and ſhe ſaw him every day that Week, but nothing paſſed between them, and ſeveral times ſhe called her Father out, that he might ſee him, but he never could.

5. On

5. On Saturday he appeared to her in a more dreadful manner at the Hall-Window. When ſhe ſaw him ſhe askt him what his buſineſs was there. He told her he would ſpeak with her. She askt him what he had to ſay, and deſired him to ſpeak it, but he ſaid, he would not yet tell her. Then he ſhewed her a Knife, and told her it was for her. She askt him then whether he had a mind to be hanged, and this was all that paſſed between them then. On the Sunday ſhe ſaw him again run by the window, with a Knife in his hand, as before, and ſhe told her Father and Mother of it, and they both ran out, but could not ſee him. On the Monday, whilſt ſhe was Milking, ſhe ſaw him with his Knife, as before; and thus he often afterwards appeared to her, eſpecially at the Parlour-Window, having opened it (which had not, they think, been opened for many years before) and holding a Knife, only ſometimes it was a ſhorter, and ſometimes a longer, but always bloudy, and ſo was the hand that held it.

6. In the Week alſo before *Whitſuntide*, one *Richard Coſins*, a Youth about 18 or 19 years old, and then living with Good-man *Medcalfe*, and now moſt commonly working for Sir *William York*, having heard *Alice* deſcribe this Man, which ſhe ſo often ſaw, as he was walking towards *Rockſome*, a little place belonging to *Leſſingham* Pariſh, he met a Man which he thought to be very like the Man which ſhe deſcribed. He went home and told his Maſter, upon which he and his Daughter walkt out that way, to ſee if they could meet him. They were not gone far, but the Daughter ſaw him, and told her Father, and pointed which way he went, that he might ſee him, but ſtill as he went one way to ſee him, the Daughter preſently ſaw him go the contrary way, ſo that he never could obtain the ſight of him.

7. Once coming from Milking ſhe had a good Club in her hand, and he met her, and asked her what ſhe did with that Club. She being more than ordinary

courageious, told him, ſhe had a good mind to lay it about his Pate. He made her no anſwer but went away.

8. Another time in *July*, as near as they can remember, *Alice* made her a Meſs of Frumenty for her Breakfaſt; it was made, as ſhe tells me, of New Milk, which I take notice of becauſe of what follows. As ſoon as ſhe had begun to eat it, the formentioned *Follet* came to the Door, and asked whether they had any Shoes to mend; ſhe told him ſhe thought they had (though indeed ſhe knew of none, but ſpake it out of fear) but that her Father and Mother being gone out, ſhe knew not where they were. So he went away, and ſhe returned, deſigning to fall again to her Breakfaſt, but found it turned to a hard Curd. At which ſhe was much ſurpriſed, and reſolved to ſet it by to ſhew her Father and Mother; but ſhe had no ſooner turn'd her back, but the Diſh danced about on the Table, till it fell on the ground, and ſpilt all in the Floor, which a Neighbour's Dog, as they thought, coming in, lickt up. The ſame day, as ſhe was raking Hay, ſhe was taken Lame, and continued ſo a quarter of a year.

9. After this ſhe was quiet again for a while, and the next time ſhe ſaw him was when going behind the Barn upon ſome occaſion, ſhe eſpied him ſtanding at ſome diſtance from her, and a ſudden blaſt of Wind took her Hat from off her Head, and carried it to his Feet; but ſhe was not much daunted at it, but ran to him and took it up, and then he diſappeared.

10. One *Sunday*, in the middle of all her troubles, as ſhe was ſtooping to take up a Pin, he appeared to her, and told her, that *Follet* was the cauſe of all her troubles, and ſo left her.

11. Hitherto I have given you as exact an Account as I could get from them as to the time. That which follows, I ſet down without obſerving the circumſtance of time or order of action, becauſe I can learn no certainty of it from them, but the matter of Fact is truth.

12. Often

12. Often when they were gone to Bed, the inner Doors were flung open, as alſo the Doors of a Cupboard which ſtood in the Hall, and this with a great deal of violence and noiſe. And one night the Chairs, which when they went to Bed, ſtood all in the Chimney Corner, were removed and placed in the middle of the Room in very good order, and a Meal-ſieve hung upon one, cut full of holes, and a Key of an inner Door upon another. And in the day time, as they ſate in the Houſe, ſpinning, they could ſee the Barn-Doors often flung open, but not by whom. Once, as *Alice* ſate ſpinning, the Rock or Diſtaff leapt ſeveral times out of the Wheel into the middle of the Room. Upon which ſhe ſaid ſhe thought *Follet* was in it. She had no ſooner ſaid the words, but ſhe ſaw *Follet* ride by to Sir *William York*'s Houſe, about ſome buſineſs with him relating to him as a Juſtice.

13. Another time *Alice* had her Petticoat taken away, and a good while after brought again, and ſeveral times other of her Cloths were taken away, and after ſome time brought again, and laid in ſome place where they ſhould be ſure to ſee them. As two Pinners which had been loſt ſome time, were brought and put in a Panchin which Goodwife *Medcalfe* had but newly poured the Milk out of. An Apron was taken away, cut in pieces, and brought again, as alſo a Spiggot which they ſearched carefully for was brought at laſt and placed upon five Eggs which Goodwife *Medcalfe* had laid in the Milk-Houſe but the night before; and the next night this Spiggot was changed, put into the Barrel, and that which was in the Barrel laid where the other was.

14. About the latter end of the Summer, in the night, the Daughter had her Cloths pull'd off, and her Hair ſnarled and matted together in that manner, that the next day her Mother could very hardly get a pair of Scizzers into it to cut it off; and ſhe does believe ſhe was near two hours about it.

15. Another time ſhe felt and ſaw ſomething like a Cat, ſitting upon her, and till it removed ſhe was in pain, and could not ſtir to help her ſelf.

16. Another time going into the Parlour, ſhe ſaw again, as ſhe thought, a Cat which did fly at her, and ſtruck her down ſeveral times with great violence, of which her face, which was much ſwelled and black, was no ſmall indication.

17. Once ſhe found a Note wrapped up in an Handkerchief, with theſe words written in it, *I would have you go from* — After ſhe had read it, ſhe lockt it up in her Trunk, deſigning to ſhew it to her Father and Mother when they came home (for they were gone to Church) but when ſhe went to look for it again, it was gone out of her Trunk, and ſhe never ſaw it any more.

18. The laſt thing that happened was this, one Saturday night *Alice* going to Bed, laid a clean Shift in her Bed, intending to put it on the next morning; but in the morning looking for it, ſhe could not find it. The next night ſhe borrowed one of her Mother, and laid that alſo in her Bed, as before. In the morning, when ſhe went to put it on, it did not pleaſe her, whereupon ſhe gave it to her Mother, deſiring her to change it; the Mother took it to change, and opening it, found it cut and ſlaſhed in many places, and they are both very certain that it was whole before. And the ſame morning when they came into the Hall, they found the other, which was firſt taken away, laid upon the Table.

19. Some odd Freaks were plaid alſo with the Father, as well as with his Daughter. For Goodman *Medcalfe* having received Eight pounds, at *Sleeford*, for Beaſts, and when he came home, put it into a Purſe by it ſelf, and locked it up in his Cheſt; and a Day or two after, taking ſome Money out of another Purſe, to buy more Beaſts; when he returned, having ſome Money left, he went to his Cheſt, to put it into the Purſe he took it out of, and afterwards began

to

to tell that Money which he received at *Sleeford*, and had put in a Purse by it self, and found that there was seventeen Shillings wanting; and some days after, he found sixteen Shillings and Six-pence of it in his Pocket. So that there was only Six-pence lost.

20. And another such like feat was it touching his Knife. One Friday having occasion to use his Knife, he felt in his Pockets for it, but could not find it, and searched carefully every where for it. On Sunday night he dreamed his Knife was in his Pocket, and in the morning told his Wife of it, and they both immediately searched his Pockets, but found none. Afterwards, he being to go to *Sleeford* that day, he was feeling in his Pocket to see what Money he had, or upon some other account, and then he found his Knife in his Pocket.

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THIS Story, though it contain nothing in it that makes any extraordinary shew or noise, yet it is considerable, in that it is so notable an Instance, and so freshly happened, touching the little silly sportings and triflings of some kind of Dæmons, and will serve to confute that vulgar mistake, that whatsoever is called Spirit *or* Devil, *is so* Great *and* August *a* Being, *that no small matters can be the Object of his Activity, whenas, I must confess, comparing Story with the* System *of the* Invisible World, *such as a sagacious and deliberate Reason would conclude it, I have this long time both thought it, and not a few times spoke it,* That there are as arrant Fools out of the Body, as in the Body: *and I wish there were not as arrant Devils in the Body as out of it. And therefore I hold this* Narrative, *though it be concerning meaner Persons, and things not at all despicable, especially Mr.* Wyche, *who took an account of it*

it from the parties upon the very ſpot, avouching in his Letters to Mr. Richardſon, *that there is nothing contained therein but what is certainly true. And therefore I think it not amiſs to beſtow ſome few ſhort Notes on ſeveral of the Paragraphs in order as they lie.*

Sect. 1. *This Man in the light flaxen hair ſeems to have been taken for a real Man by* Alice, *to whom he appeared, for a good while. But in proceſs of the Story, it will be plain that it was no* Man, *but an* Apparition. *This appearing to her in an alluring humane ſhape (as* Lendale's *Wife, who was hanged for a Witch here at* Cambridge, *on* Jeſus *Green, cauſed a* Spirit *or* Dæmon *to appear to her Maid in the ſhape of a proper Yeoman-like Man, and ſollicited her to marry him, driving on the buſineſs a long time, as the Maid confeſſed to a learned Friend of mine, and my ſelf) this appearing, I ſay, in this ſhape, ſeems to be a trick to familiariſe his converſe to her, that he might get her into a further ſnare. Whether ſuch as* Lendale's *Wife intended, I leave to others to conjecture.*

Sect. 3. *Whether* Follet's *threatning the Daughter was not from his diſpleaſure againſt her uncompliableneſs with the Man in the* light flaxen hair, *the tenth Section will give more light to conſider, compared with this preſent Section. But in the mean time it may not be unſeaſonable here to note, what danger there may be in liſtening to Aſtrologers or Fortune-tellers (for ſo this* Follet *is called by an able Phyſician in* Lincolnſhire, *in his Letter to me.) For a Man may eaſily ſuffer hurt if they predict ill, by the Activity of evil Spirits with whom they are ſome how in Confederacy, and with whom it is a thouſand times more eaſie to do miſchief than good, and therefore they will not ſtick to do it, to gain credit to their Client,* viz. *the* Aſtrologer *or* Fortuneteller.

Sect. 4. *The* flaxen hair'd *Man flinging down his Club with that violence amongſt the Panchins, and yet breaking none of them, nor it making any noiſe when it ſeemed to hit amongſt them (as it was anſwered to my Query made touching this paſſage) is an indication, that this was to the ſight what*

what that monstrous thumping against the Door in the following Story, Sect. 9. was to the hearing. That the Senses in both were in a great measure imposed upon by the operation of these Dæmons. And that therefore here is the first hint of this flaxen hair'd Man's being an Apparition. And another is also contained in this same Section. In that her Father being several times called out by her to see this Man, he never could see him, though he appeared so conveniently placed as that her Father might as well see him as her self, as she answered to Mr. Wyche, upon my Query about that Passage.

Sect. 5. His so frequently appearing to the Maid, as is manifest out of this Section and the former, and with such an horrid Intention signified by his bloudy Knife and Hand, though the Maid by her answer here seems not yet to be aware of it that it was an Apparition; yet 'tis no contemptible argument that it was. For what Man in his Wits would venture himself so oft in view to act this Part. And it is hugely incredible but that he would have been seen by several others as well as her, if it had been a Man, when he was seen of none besides her, saving one Rich. Cosins, who belonged to William Medcalfe's Family, as is set down, Sect. 6. Which seems done on purpose to put a Trick upon both the Daughter and Father, whom he dodged when he came out from home to see him, as that Section declares.

Sect. 7. This Passage also intimates that the Daughter took this Apparition to be a real Man still. But that there was Witchcraft in the Business, the Story in Sect. 8. does manifestly discover. For I making a Query upon that Passage [that she had no sooner turned her Back, but the Dish danced about on the Table] how she could see it her back being turned, she did answer, she turned about, (hearing, I suppose the Noise of its motion on the Table) and there saw it turn about and fall. The turning her Frumenty also into an hard Curd, is another indication of Witchery in the Business, and that this Spectre of a flaxen hair'd Man was sent to her by that Art. But (Section the 9th) she seems to be well convinced it was an Apparition, her self declaring, it disappeared

*disappeared (though commonly, she said, in answer to a Query of mine, he went behind (some House, Barn, Wall, or Hedge) and he seems (*Sect. 10.*) to have appeared on a sudden when she stooped for a Pin. And if* Follet *was the cause of all her trouble, this* Dæmon *did as other* Dæmons *often have done, that is, betrayed their Clients. But the Law can proceed upon no such Evidence, nor is it fit it should, for fear injury be done to the innocent.*

But that William Medcalfe's *house was haunted or infested by Witchcraft, the Pranks set down in the following Sections of the Narrative do plainly enough evince. And that of the Daughter's* Lockard hair *is such an argument as no one can possibly evade it. But to entangle things thus is an usual Feat of these ludicrous* Spirits. *And this reminds me of a Story told me by* W. M. *many years ago, of an House haunted somewhere in* Lincolnshire, *where it was usual with these Goblins in a Room unfurnisht, unless with the Lumber of broken Chairs and Stools, and old Bed-steads (in which Room they hung up their Hanks of Yarn against the Wall) to wind all this Yarn on those old Pieces of Lumber, so perplexedly and entangledly, that they could not, without spoiling it, endeavour to dis-intangle it, but letting it be as they found it, the next night these Goblins of themselves would take it off clear without hurt, and make it up in Hanks, and hang it up orderly as before.*

This Magical matting of the Daughters Hair into a Witch-Lock, and the leaping of her Distaff, Sect. 11. *out of her Wheel several times into the Floor, in the sight of her Mother also, besides what happened to her Father,* Sect. 19, 20. *shew plainly that it was no deluded Fancy of the Daughter, but the real Effects of Witchery. Which will be abundantly more confirmed out of the following Story of the Stirs in Sir* William York's *House, especially if that be true which is bruited in the Countrey, that they came from the same Hand that the Troubles in* William Medcalfe's *Family did. But be that how it will, the ensuing Narrative is so pa pable an Eviden e of things done*

done by Dæmons *or* Spirits, *that having got into my Hands an Authentick Copy of ſome of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of thoſe Diſturbances, by my worthy Friend Mr.* Richardſon, *though I have heard from more Hands than one how unwilling Sir* William *was to have the thing made publick; yet I will preſume ſo much upon his Goodneſs, and Love of Truth, and uſeful Inſtruction of the World, as to adventure to diſpleaſe his natural Humour, whilſt haply I may, upon his better conſideration, gratifie ſome more noble principle in him. For I know nothing in the thing that can turn to his diſhonour. For the beſt of Men have been aſſaulted by the Devil in extraordinary ways, and it has been their glory that by their Faith and Courage, and humble Confidence in the Arm of God, they have overcome him. Wherefore without any further ſcruple I ſhall take the boldneſs to ſet down the aboveſaid Narrative as follows.*

RELAT. V.

A true and faithful Narrative *of the diſturbance which was in the Houſe of Sir* William York *in the Pariſh of* Leſſingham *in* Lincolnſhire, *ſent by the former hand to the ſame party.*

1. IN *May* 1679. Sir *William York* being from home, there was a great noiſe made by the lifting up of the Latch of the outmoſt Door, which continued with great quickneſs and noiſe for the ſpace of two or three hours, till betwixt ten and eleven a Clock in the night. His Lady then being at home with few Servants, apprehended it to be Thieves, and thereupon they went to the door, and ſpake to them, and afterwards winded a Horn, and raiſed the Town, and upon the coming in of the Town, the noiſe ceaſed, and they heard no more of it till *May* following.

2. And then Sir *William* being at *London*, the ſame noiſe was made at the door as before for two or three

nights together, and then they began to believe it to be occasioned by ſome extraordinary means. This was heard alike by twenty ſeveral perſons then in the Family, who looking out at the Windows, over the door, heard the noiſe, but ſaw nothing. About a Month after, when Sir *William* had returned from *London*, he being in Bed, and his Lady ready to go in, he heard the ſame noiſe again; which held about half a quarter of an hour and ceaſed, and began again ſeveral times that night, the ſame perſons being then in the Houſe alſo, and taking the ſame care to diſcover it: at the end of this knocking there was as if it were a thruſting with a Knee, only more violent.

3. About the middle of *July* Sir *William* and his Lady being both from home, and the Servants ſitting up expecting their return that night, they heard a noiſe in the Hall, being the next Room to them, like the clapping of the door at the feet of the Stairs, and going in, they found the Chairs all ſet in the middle of the Hall, which they did ſet in their uſual places again, and returned into the Kitchin, and in a little time hearing the like noiſe again, they went into the Hall, and found the ſaid Chairs removed into a paſſage between the ſaid Kitchin and Hall.

4. In *Auguſt*, about nine or ten of the Clock, moſt of the Family being in Bed, and Sir *William* near upon it, he heard a knocking at the Door under the Stairs, as if it were with the End of a good thick Stick; at which being a little ſurprized, and going down, the ſaid noiſe began again, but afterwards he heard no more of it that Night.

5. About a fortnight after that, and about ten of the Clock, Sir *William* being in his Cloſet in the Hall over againſt the ſaid Door, heard a very violent Knocking at the ſaid Door, and being ſurprized, could not find the Key very quickly, but after he had, he went into the ſaid Room or Hole under the Stairs, which the Noiſe left, and nothing being there, he ſate down in the Hall

with

with half a ſcore of the Family whith him about half an hour, and all continued quiet. And then he went into his Chamber, but took the Key of the ſaid Room under the Stairs in his Pocket, being very hard to believe any ſuch extraordinary thing. And immediately the ſame noiſe began again in the ſame place, and he immediately going down, and into the ſame Room again, found all things as before. And the like noiſe was heard four or five times the ſame night in the ſame place, Sir *William* ſtill uſing the ſame diligence to diſcover it as before. Note here, that as any one came near to that, or any other door where the knocking was, it always ceaſed, except the firſt time when it knocked at the outmoſt door.

6. About three or four nights after this, about eight of the Clock, at which time the noiſe uſually began, and at the ſame place and door likewiſe where it uſually began, there was a knocking heard as if it were with a ſtick with the broken end. Sir *William* uſed his former diligence to diſcover it. This noiſe was repeated about three or four times, and left off about eleven of the Clock. After this Sir *William* and his Family being after this manner ſo much diſturbed, he reſolved to do what he could to find it out. This noiſe therefore which was heard ſometimes every other night, ſometimes every night, as ſoon as it began, Sir *William* took all the Family into one Room, that he might be ſecured that there was no Cheat in it. Which the Servants gladly yielded to, being all mightily affrighted.

7. About *September* the noiſe began to be greater, and to be in a Room unfurniſhed, deſigned for a great Parlour, and was like to a Man walking up and down, and ſometimes running, ſometimes like a Man walking on Stilts, and ſometimes knocking at the Cieling, or top of the Room, but not above half a ſcore ſtrokes at a time, yet ſometimes fewer, and ſometimes more, ſtill as he went towards it.

8. Afterwards the ſaid noiſe began to be more

dreadful and greater yet, and in more places, which mightily diſordered Sir *William*'s ancient Father; and his Lady and Children very much. Upon which they were thinking of leaving the Houſe. Sir *William* was willing they ſhould, but unwilling to leave it himſelf, and thereupon they all continued. At this time Sir *William* had a Plummer putting up Lead about the Houſe, to conveigh the Rain that fell into a Ciſtern, and this knocking was often againſt the Lead, and often againſt the Iron that bore it, in imitation of the Plummer's knocking in the day time. He had likewiſe Carpenters at the ſame time, and ſometimes this noiſe was like their chopping at the Wood in the Yard, inſomuch that the Head Carpenter ſaid, that if he had not known his Servants to be in the Houſe, he ſhould have thought they had been chopping. Sometimes it was like the Servants chopping of Coals in the Coal-yard: ſometimes knocking at the Doors of Out-houſes, at the Waſh-houſe, Brew-houſe, and Stable-doors; and as they followed it from place to place, it ſtill immediately, and in one inſtant removed. Theſe were the uſual noiſes that were every night when it came, which was three or four times a Week.

9. But ſometimes it was a great deal more terrible, particularly when Mr. *Brown*, a Relation of Sir *William*'s Brother *Brown*, was here. The noiſe began about the uſual time of the night, and at the uſual place. Which ſaid noiſe in one place or another held all night, ſometimes at the Door under the ſtairs, ſometimes running up and down in the Parlour, ſometimes knocking violently at the Wood of the Windows, ſometimes againſt the Spouts, and ſometimes againſt the forementioned Ciſtern, and ſometimes againſt the outmoſt Doors, as if it had been ſome great piece of Timber thrown againſt them; inſomuch that the Carpenters, which were in the Houſe, ſaid, it was impoſſible for all the Art and Strength of Man to make ſuch a noiſe without battering the doors in pieces, and

yet

yet examining they found the door firm and whole, not the leaſt battered or ſtrained; Sometimes this noiſe was like the tumbling of Tiles from the ſide of an Houſe.

10. This noiſe growing worſe and worſe, Sir *William* followed it, demanding in the Name of God what was the occaſion of it, but received no anſwer; but ſtill it removed to another place. Particularly one night, it being very extraordinary in the great Parlour, Sir *William* kept the Family in another Room, and with a Candle in his hand, walked in the ſame Parlour, but heard nothing. Afterwards conſidering the ſame God could protect him in the dark, as well as in the light, he put out the Candle, and ſhut the door, and walked there a quarter of an hour, hoping ſome diſcovery might be made to a ſingle perſon, which was not made to more. After he had walked a quarter of an hour in the dark, the noiſe began at the Wood of the Window in the ſame Room, only on the out-ſide. At which he demanded, as formerly in the Name of God, what was the meaning of it. Upon which it immediately ceaſed in that place, and removed to a Dial that ſtood about ten or twenty yards from the Houſe, and knockt violently there, and took the rounds as formerly again. This night Sir *William* likewiſe opened a Bible, and laid it in the Room under the Stairs where it began; but nevertheleſs the noiſe was there afterwards, and the Bible not altered. After which he went into the Chamber with the Family, and having been a little time there, there began a very great Drumming at a pair of Wainſcot Doors, between the Hall and the great Parlour, imitating Drummers in their ſeveral ways of beating, and varying it as they uſually do, but it was as if it was done with hands againſt the Wainſcot.

11. About three or four nights after this, the noiſe of knocking began as at former times, and Sir *William* lighted a Candle, and ſet it in a high Candleſtick in the middle of the Hall, and went up into his Chamber with

all his Family; and whilst they were above, this drumming Noise began at the Door again in a very dreadful manner. They were at their Devotions, which when they had finished, Sir *William* went out first himself, and went down Stairs, and found the Chairs removed, and the Candle put out, the Snuff hanging bent down, and the Candlestick removed into the Passage between the Kitchin and the Hall.

12. This was about the beginning of *October*, and the sitting of the Parliament drawing nigh, which required Sir *William*'s Attendance, and he being much concerned upon the leaving his Family in such Disturbances, and intending to set forward on Monday before the sitting of the Parliament, which was *October* 16. his Brother *Browne* and his Wife, Sir *William*'s only Sister, and several other Friends coming to take their leave of him, the Noise was heard at the door under the Stairs that Night, but very little to what usually. And accordingly Sir *William* went to *London*, intending that if the Noise continued, his Lady and his Children should follow him, and that his Father should go to Mr. *Brown*'s at *Horblin*; but by God's Blessing from that time to this it was never heard any more.

Advertisement.

T*His is a very true and assured Diary of the chief Passages in those Stirs made in Sir* William York'*s house, but withal a very brief one. Which made me get Mr.* Richardson *to send certain Queries touching several Passages, which were answered from a very sure and authentick Hand; and in vertue of which answers, I shall be able to give a stop to all the Tergiversations of the Incredulous and their evasorious Pretences, as if things might be resolved into waggish Combination. As first on,*

Sect. 1.

Sect. 1. *I was certified (so that no Man can pretend that the Party that made that Noise with the Latch, did upon the blowing of the Horn slink away before the Town could come in) that the Noise continued till the People of the Town came to the Gate; and that it was impossible but that if any Person had been within the Yard, they must have discovered him, because there is a Wall about ten Foot high round the Yard, so that he could no way escape. And besides that, it happened in that time of the Year when it is in a manner all night long Twilight, sufficient to discover any Person, if any were there to be discovered; it is not probable, if there had been need, but that some of the company would come with Lanthorns or other Lights.*

Sect. 2. *Those Persons that looked out of the Window to the Place where the Noise was made, could not but see if there were any Man there to make that Noise, it being done by Moon-shine, (as is answered to my Query on this Passage) sufficient to discover if any Person had been there, if not, who it were. And this Diligence being repeated for some Nights together, and nothing discerned, it is manifest that the Noise was made by some Dæmon or Spirit, not by any Man.*

Sect. 5. *Note that the Noise at the Door of the Room under the Stairs, it could not be discerned, whether it was on the Inside of the Door, or on the Outside, as was answered to one of my Queries. And therefore Sir* Willliam *seeing no body at the outside to cause that Noise, which he might have easily done by the light of his Candle, if there had been any body, he went into the Room to see if he could discover any one there. But finding no body, lockt the Door, and yet the noise began again in the same Room, but upon a second search, no body found therein And this Noise and this Diligence in searching the same place several times repeated in one night, by one naturally incredulous of any such extrordinary things, and receiving full satisfaction therefrom, methinks should shake the most obdurate Sadducee, and make him ashamed of his fond Incredulity.*

But now for the ceasing of the Knocking when any one

 came

came near to any Door where the Knocking was; this was no impediment to the certain experience of that under the Stairs, because they by the light of a Candle plainly though at some distance, seeing there was no body at the outside of the Door, and finding no body within the Room or Hole, which was lockt; notwithstanding the ceasing of the Knocking, they might be sure that the Knocking was not made by the hand of any Mortal. Nay I will further add from certain Information, that there were scarce any of the House but have seen the Door at the same time the noise was made there, and no body at it; and that Sir William *himself particularly has seen the Door from the top of the Stairs, with a Light in his hand several times, while the Noise was there, which sometimes continued till he came down several steps, and once till he came over against the Door within a yard of it, or thereabout, but saw no body; so certain an experiment is this of Dæmoniacal operation.*

Sect. 6. *This taking the whole Family into one Room was of very good consequence; for thereby it was plain that none of the Family plaid these Freaks, nor augmented them by any humoursome Imitation. And it is incredible any stranger should venture, as I understand by the answer to my fifth Query. Which assures me, that on the first night the House was searched every where, and the Doors were always lockt, and Sir* William *had the Keys given to him. What stranger therefore in his Wits would adventure upon such Freakish Exploits wherein he did himself so little good when he was in such apparent danger to be taken in such a numerous Family.*

Sect. 7. *My sixth Query was upon this seventh Section, which was this.* Was Sir *William* in the Room where something seemed to walk, to run, to go on Stilts? *&c.* and whether it was not so dark but that he might see if there had been a Man there? *To which was answered, He sometimes went in with a Candle, and sometimes without, yet could discover nothing; and if any Person had been there, it was impossible for him to escape out of the Room undiscovered, the Door being lockt. And I may add further,*

the

the outward doors being lockt, that would have sufficiently made him lyable to be taken if it had been a Man.

Sect. 8. *This Apish imitation of the noise of Workmen, shews it to be some trifling Dæmon, as also that sudden removal from one place to another, and its being heard in so many places at once, plainly argues it could be no Man, unless there were more than one, which would make them still the more obnoxious to be taken.*

Sect. 9. *The continuance of the stirs also all night, argues it not to be probable it was any Man. For who would disquiet himself a whole night, meerly to amuse others for nothing. But that battering noise at the door demonstrates it was not the Feat of any Mortal. And besides this noise, as Mr.* Edward Brown *the elder, who was there this very night, writes to Mr.* Richardson, *the Iron Latch of the great Door of the Room, which was just under that in which he lay, seemed to him to move with such wonderful swiftness up and down, and with such very great noise, as he could not think any humane art or dexterity could effect. But he describes also the battering noise he heard at that door. There seemed, saith he, sometimes to be such extraordinary thumping and knocking against the said door, with such wonderful loud noise, as if some had managed an extraordinary great piece of Timber with the greatest art to give it the greatest advantage to force the door open, or break it in pieces; and in deliberate thoughts I could not conceive how the strongest Door, or Walls, could stand before such force as was threatned by such a very great and loud noise. These two kinds of noises, says he, continued in my hearing till about break of day, with frequent little intermissions: And yet in the Morning, both the Iron Latch and Door were found unaltered, in the very same state they were left when we went to Bed. And very intelligent persons, says he, in the Family said, that when they went to the door, or went out in the time of such disturbances they could see no body, nor perceive any motion in any thing on which the invisible Agent did seem to operate. Which is the very same which I heard from the abovementioned Doctor of Physick in his Letter to me. Mr.*

Brown *in his discourse to Mr.* Richardson *in the Country, touching this thumping noise at the Door, told him he could not compare it to any thing better, as to the force thereof, than to the* Roman *Ram, which the* Romans *battered down Walls with. But it being experienced of all hands, that the noise seemed to come from a force against the Door, that would, if it had been real, break the Door all in pieces, and yet the Door suffering nothing from it, it is a plain demonstration that it was no Feat of any Man, but a prestigious Frolick of some Dæmon. And lastly, what one Man, or many could make such a noise on the Top of the House, as if most of the Tiles were falling, and how could he get down so suddenly, as not to be discovered?*

Section 10. *My seventh Query was upon this Section, viz.* Whether when Sir *William* went into the great Parlour with a Candle in his hand, to walk there, did the noise cease at his Approach, or before. *To which is answered, It ceased upon his going in, and as soon as he was gone out, it would often begin again. Whence it is plain, if the noise had been caused by any visible Person, that Person would have been discovered by the light. But that which caused it did not so much as move out of the Room, in all likelyhood, in beginning again as soon as Sir* William'*s back was turned.*

Sect. 11. *My eighth Query belongs to this Section, and to some part of the former, namely,* Whether when the Drumming was, and the Candle put out, and the Chairs removed, the Out-Doors of the House were lockt, so that none might escape out. *To which it is answered, They were lockt, and Sir* William *kept the Keys. Which indeed was every night done, as was noted on the sixth Section. And therefore it is incredible that any Man would adventure to make such a thundring noise on the Wainscot-Doors, imitating the various Beating of Drums, or do any other discoverable Feats, in so numerous a Family, where there were so many to find him, and apprehend him, and the Doors shut upon him, that he could make no escape. To which you may add, that the Dogs were never observed to bark at any*

of

of these Disturbances, as most *of the Family affirm,* all *of them, that never above once (which is a thing observed also in the Story of the Devil of* Maschon) *and yet the noise was external, all the Family, and other Watchers hearing it alike.*

These were my main Queries upon this Narrative, and I must profess that I am abundantly satisfied in the Answers to them. Nor will I omit what will reach further than to these Queries. For I am assured, from the same hand, that Sir William *being a Person naturally incredulous of such things, and impatient of being imposed upon, used all possible care and diligence to detect the Impostor, if there had been any, and this would reach to more particulars than I could propose by way of Query. Which hitherto has been only touching matter of Fact. But I was also so curious as to ask what Witnesses there were besides those of* Sir William's *Family, which amount to about Twenty, and I was informed that most of his Tenants by turns watching there, could witness to the same matters. And there were at least forty Persons that were Eye-witnesses, or rather Ear-witnesses, the disturbance being by* Noises, *not* Apparitions *properly so called, and most of the Servants are still in Sir* William's *Family that were there in the time of the disturbance, so that if any one have the Curiosity to enquire of the truth of the Business, he may easily get full satisfaction in the Parish of* Lessingham.

My last Query was, Whether any one was suspected to be the cause of these Disturbances, and upon what occasion. *But the Answer was prudent and Christian, That there might be some Person suspected, but the Proof being not full, he was unwilling to lay so heavy a Charge on any one. Nor is that much to my purpose, unless the Party suspected should prove the* Cobler *that* Alice Medcalfe's *flaxen hair'd Visitant affirmed to her to be the Author of her troubles. For then the certainty of these Disturbances in Sir* William's *House, of which there is so full and ample Testimony, would be a farther confirmation of those things that are said to have happened at* William

Medcalfe's, *they* both *being as well from* one hand *as in* one Parish.

But in the mean time these Disturbances at Sir William York's *having such clear and unexceptionable Evidence, that they were not the Feats of any Man, but the Freaks of some Invisible Dæmon, my communicating this Narrative to the World, as it cannot but deserve Thanks of the Reader, so I hope it will obtain pardon of Sir* William, *that I have not concealed his Name, no more than supprest the Story it self, which would have been maim without it, but have exhibited it in its due fulness for the conviction of this incredulous Age, and confounding of Saducism and Infidelity, without the least Blemish to so worthy a Person. Who was so much under the Protection of the Almighty that this Demoniacal Power was notably limited and curbed, forasmuch as it was observed that, unless it was in the Hall (and there was only a few Chairs) the disturbance was never in any Room that was furnished. And it was also confined as to time; for unless it began at eight, nine, or ten of the Clock, it came not at all that night, and usually left off about eleven or twelve, there is only that night excepted, when Mr.* Brown *was there. And lastly, when Sir* William *was in the greatest Straits of all,* Sect. 12. *and intended to have his Wife and Children come up to* London *to him, and to dispose of his Father at Mr.* Brown's *at* Horbin, *to prevent that trouble, the Disturbance quite ceased. But Sir* William's *Christian Faith and Courage in the midst of those Disturbances, while they continued, was very eminent and conspicuous, and I know no Injury done to him or any one else, in my transmitting the memory thereof to future Ages.*

RE-

RELAT. VI.

A Story of the marvelous Condition of one Robert Churchman *of* Balsham, *some six or seven Miles off from* Cambridge, *when he was inveigled in* Quakerism, *how strangely he was possessed by a* Spirit *that spoke within him, and used his Organs in despight of him, while he was in his Fits. And how he was recovered from his Errour, and regained to the Church by the Devotion and Diligences of Dr.* J. Templar, *still Minister of that place, as it is set down in his Letter to a Friend, which is as follows.*

SIR,

YOUR desire to be acquainted with some passages concerning the *Quakers* in this Town, obligeth me to give you the following Account. At my first settlement here, I found them very busie in enticing my people to a compliance with their Perswasions in Religion. This Design they did attempt to accomplish by dispersing their Papers among them. Two of my Parishioners I had a particular eye upon, namely, *Robert Churchman* and his Wife. They being Persons of a very good Life, and of a plentiful Estate, I was under a fear that their departure from the Church might be a means to induce others to the same Practice. The first, in many Discourses I had with him, did manifest a very strong inclination to the Principles of the *Quakers*. The second was so far engaged, that the *Quakers* did commonly report that a *Principle* was wrought in her.

As I was one day in Conference with the said *Robert Churchman*, I desired him that when any of their Books came to his Hand, he would do me the kindness to bring them to me, that we might read them over together, assuring him of no unwillingness in me to hearken to whatsoever should appear reasonable.

What

What I desired he performed not long after. When I had received the Paper into my hand, before I began to read, I suggested to him, that it would be convenient that the Person who had been the Cause of his Seducement should be sent for, and hear what was replyed to the Contents, which he willingly consented to. When the *Quaker* was come, one Branch of our Discourse was, *Whether the Scripture is to be owned as a Rule*, which the *Quaker* denyed, asserting, *that the Rule was within them.* After the expence of two or three hours in Discourse about this and other matters, I desired *Robert Churchman* to take notice, that the *Quakers* did not own the Scriptures for their Rule. Which before this Conference I had intimated to him, but found him unwilling to believe. It pleased God so far to bless what was spoken, that the next time he met his Brother, *Thomas Churchman*, he told him of what had passed at my House, and that now he was assured that the *Quakers* did not acknowledge the Scripture for their Rule, and for his part, he would not be of that Religion which doth disown the Scripture in that particular.

Not long after, the Wife of the forementioned *Quaker* coming to his house to visit his Wife, he met her at the Door, and told her she should not come in, intimating that her Visit would make Division betwixt them. After some Parley, the *Quaker*'s Wife spake unto him, in these Words, *Thou wilt not believe except thou see a Sign*, *and thou mayest see some such.* Within a few nights after *Robert Churchman* had a violent storm upon the Room where he lay, when it was very calm in all other parts of the Town, and a Voice within him, as he was in Bed, spake to him, and bid him, *Sing Praises*, *sing Praises*, telling him, that he should see the Glory of the *New Jerusalem*, about which time a *glimmering light* appeared all about the Room. Toward the morning the *Voice* commanded him to go out of his Bed naked with his Wife and Children. They all standing upon the

the Floor, the *Spirit* making uſe of his tongue, bid them to lye down and put their Mouths in the Duſt which they did accordingly. It likewiſe commanded him to go and call his Brother and Siſter, that they might ſee the *New Jeruſalem*, to whom he went naked about half a Mile.

When he had delivered his Meſſage, that which ſpake within him, charged them to denounce Wrath againſt them, and declare that Fire and Brimſtone would fall upon them, as it did upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, if they did not obey, and ſo he returned to his own Houſe. Where, upon the Floor of a low Room, he ſtood naked about three or four hours. All that while he was acted in a very unuſual manner, Sometimes the *Spirit* within him forced him to ſing, ſometimes to bark like a Dog. When his Brother and Siſter, who followed him, were very importunate with him to reſiſt it, it bid him to kill them, making uſe of theſe Words. *Theſe my Enemies, which would not that I ſhould reign over them, bring them and ſlay them before my Face.* It made him to utter with great readineſs many places in Scripture, which he had no knowledge of before. The drift of what was ſpoken, was to perſwade him to comply with the *Quakers*, and it named ſome which live in the neighbouring Towns. About three or four hours being thus ſpent, he came to himſelf, and was able to give a perfect Account of what had befallen him.

Several nights after, the ſame trouble returned upon him. His Wife was tortured with extraordinary Pains; the Children which lay in the Room complained that their Mouths were ſtopt with Wooll as they were in Bed. The diſturbance was ſo great, that he had thoughts of leaving his Houſe for a time, and made it his deſire to be with me at mine. I prevailed with him not to be ſo ſudden in his removal, but to make ſome further trial. It pleaſed God upon a continuance with him in Prayer every day in the Houſe, that he was at laſt perfectly free from all Moleſtation. The *Quakers* hearing of his Condition,

gave

gave it out, that the Power of God would come upon him again, and that the Wound was but skinned over by the Prieſt. Which made me the more importunate with him to keep cloſe to the publick Service of God, and to have nothing to do with them or their Writings.

Which direction he followed till *November* 1661. and then peruſing one of their Books, a little after upon the tenth day of that Month, his Troubles returned. A Voice within him began to ſpeak to him after the former manner. The firſt Sentence which it uttered was, *Ceaſe thou from Man whoſe Breath is in his Noſtrils, for wherein is he to be accounted?* The deſign which he diſcerned that it did aim at, was, to take him off from coming to the Church(where he had been that day)and from hearing the Word of God. It ſuggeſted ſeveral other Scriptures in order to the perſwading of him to a compliance with the *Quakers*, and told him, that it would ſtrive with him as the Angel did with *Jacob* until the breaking of the Day, at which time it left him. The two next nights it gave him the ſame Moleſtation, ſaying, It muſt be with him as it was with *David*, who *gave no ſleep to his Eyes, nor ſlumber unto his Eye-lids, until he found a place for the Lord, an Habitation for the God of Jacob.* Upon Wedneſday at night he was very peremptory in his reſiſting of it. When it began to ſollicite him, he replyed, That he ſaw it was a *Spirit* of Deluſion, which he would not obey. Upon which the *Spirit* denounced a Curſe againſt him, in theſe Words, *Go, ye curſed into everlaſting Fire*, and ſo left him with a very great Heat in his Body.

After this, he was, in his own apprehenſion, in a very comfortable condition, and while he was conſidering what had happened, a Voice within him ſpake to him, ſaying, That the Spirit which was before upon him was a Spirit of Deluſion, but now the true Spirit of God was come into him. It acquainted him that the Doctrine of the Trinity was true, and that God had an Elect People,

and

and that those whom the Father Elected, the Son hath Redeemed, and whom Christ Redeemeth, the Holy Ghost Sanctifieth, and told him that the Minister of the Town would further instruct him about the Truth of these things. Upon Thursday morning about Break of day, it set him upon his Knees, as he was in Bed, and bid him farewel. The same day it came upon him in the Field as he was going to, and coming from the Market, and pressed upon him to believe that it was the good Spirit which he was acted with, which he still doubted of. One night that Week amongst many Arguments which it used to that purpose, it told him if he would not believe without a Sign, he might have what Sign he would. Upon that *Robert Churchman* desired, if it was a good Spirit, that a Wier-Candlestick, which stood upon the Cup-board might be turned into Brass. Which the Spirit said he would do. Presently there was a very unsavoury Smell in the Room, like that of the Snuff of a Candle newly put out; but nothing else was done towards the fulfilling of the Promise.

Upon the Lord's day following, he being at Church, it came upon him. When the Chapters were named, he turned to them in his Bible, but was not able to read. When the Psalm was sung, he could not pronounce a Syllable. Upon Monday morning his Speech was wholly taken from him. When I came to him, and asked him how it was with him, he moved his Head towards me, but was not able to speak; I waited an hour or two in the Room, hoping that his Speech might have returned unto him, and that I might have gained from him some Account of his Condition. But finding no Alteration, I desired those who were present to join with me in Prayer. As we were Praying, his Body, with much violence, was thrown out of Bed, and then, with great vehemency, he called to me to hold my Tongue. When Prayer was done, his Tongue was bound, as before, till at last he broke out into these Words, *Thine is the Kingdom, Thine is the Kingdom*; which he repeated, I believe,

lieve, above an hundred times. Sometimes he was forced into extream Laughter, ſometimes into Singing; his Hands were uſually imployed in beating his Breaſt. All of us, who ſtood by, could diſcern unuſual heavings in his Body. This Diſtemper did continue towards the morning of the next day, and then the Voice within him ſignified to him that it would leave him, bidding him to get upon his Knees in order to that end, which he did, and then preſently he had a perfect Command of himſelf.

When I came to him he gave me a ſober Account of all the paſſages of the day before, having a diſtinct Remembrance of what the Spirit forced him to do, and what was ſpoken to him by thoſe who ſtood by. In particular he told me, he was compelled to give me that diſturbance in Prayer, which I before mentioned, the *Spirit* uſing his Limbs and Tongue as it pleaſed, contrary to the inclination of his own mind.

Upon the Thurſday following the Spirit began to rage after its former manner, as I was at Prayer with him, it was very diſcernible how it wrought upon his Body, forced him to grate his Teeth, and draw his Mouth awry. He told me, after I had done, that it bid him to denounce Woe againſt me. It pleaſed God, upon continuance in Prayer with him, at laſt to releaſe him of all his Trouble, and ſo far to make it advantageous to him and his Wife, and ſome others, which were too much byaſſed with the Principles of the *Quakers*, that now they have a perfect diſlike of that way, and do diligently attend upon the Publick Service of God in the Parochial Church, Sir, You may be confident of the Truth of what is here related, by

Balſham, *Jan.* 1. 1682.

Your aſſured Friend,

J. T.

Adver-

Advertisement.

THis Story I thought fit to add to the former Additional Stories for these three Reasons. First, Because I have all desirable assurance of the truth thereof, being personally acquainted this long time with the party that wrote this Letter, whom I know to be a learned, pious, and serious person, and such as I am confident would not for all the World close his Letter so as he has, but that he delivers nothing but what he knew to be true, by such means as is intimated in the Letter it self; that is, either by his own experience, or the information of Robert Churchman, *whom he knew to be a singular honest Man, and utterly devoid of all fraud and guile. Moreover, the Writer of this Letter is so modest, that he was always very backward from publishing it by it self, though it makes not a little to his repute in the faithful and successful discharge of his Ministry. But this new occasion being offered, my importunity obtained of him, that it might be published in this Collection of Stories of this nature, which now accordingly is done.*

My second Reason is, because it is such a notable Example of that danger they put themselves in, who leave the true Church of Christ (which has the Seal and Testimony of Christ, that it is for the main commensurate to his Word, as the Church Universal *was, before the* Apostasie, *and the* Reformed *Churches are upon the* Rising of the Witnesses) *to follow the seducing of any* private *Spirit, especially such as the* Quakers *were at the first, being drunk and intoxicated with the Poyson of* Familism, *which out of a Spirit of* Saducism *and* Infidelity, *believing no subsistence of the Soul of Christ after death, antiquates all things belonging to his particular Person, as the Sacraments, Festivals, his Intercession, and Personal coming again to Judgment,* &c. *and makes nothing of any Christ but what is within us. Which is a perfect dissolution, or nulling of the True Apostolick Christian Religion, which yet is to be Everlasting, according to the prediction of* Daniel.

And

And my third and last Reason is, because this Story with others of Toldervey, Gilpin, James Naylor, *and the like, will the better justifie that Satyrical passage of* Jos. Glanvil *his* Letter *to me, wherein he calls Quakerism,* The *sink* of Folly and Madness, *which I conceive he does with an Eye to the former times of the* Quakers. *But that there is now a more tolerable estimate to be made of them (though some* sordid Badges *of* Familism *still stick to them, and indeed all that remains* ugly *in them is such, though they do not consider it) I shall note in my* Advertisements *on that* Letter, *which is as follows.*

A WHIP FOR THE DROLL, Fidler to the Atheist:

BEING

REFLECTIONS

ON

DROLLERY and ATHEISM.

Sent, upon the occasion of the

Drummer of Tedworth,

In a Letter to the most Learned

Dr *HENRY MORE*, D.D.

LONDON,

Printed for *S. Lownds*, MDCLXXXVIII.

L 1

TO THE REVEREND and LEARNED Dr HENRY MORE, D.D.

SECT. I.

His Answer to certain Objections *and* Queries *touching the Stirs made by the Drummer of* Tedworth.

Honoured Sir,

THE scrupulous care you take in examining the Story of the Disturbance at *Tedworth*, is no more than becomes a Philosopher, and one that is not willing to be deceived. And without such a cautious and particular inquiry you could not answer the murmurs and petty evasions of wilful Unbelievers. * Those *Objections* you pickt up at *Cambridge* have the ill fortune to miscarry in almost every circumstance, and are in no likelihood of being believed but at a great distance. Some of them I could have answered upon mine own knowledge; and concerning the rest, I have made a strict enquiry of Mr. *Mompesson* himself and others, when I was last in those parts, and upon certain information I give you this Account.

To the (1.) that saith, *The House is rented, and that this is a device to beat down the value of it.* I answer from his own Mouth, That the House is his own, and so the foundation of this shift is over-turned. The second, of those that say, *It is a trick to get Money from*

those that come to see the Prodigy, hath as little truth, but much more malice in the first Contrivers than the former. For this Gentleman being a Person of Estate, I am confident, scorns so base and so beggerly a Policy, and is so far from making any advantage, that it hath done him very material prejudice in his Fortunes and Affairs. And those Strangers that come to see the Prodigy, use to leave nothing behind them except thanks for the civility of their Entertainments. 'Tis true (3.) as others say, That *the House is boarded without*, at least a great part of it. But there are no *Cellars* as the *Objection* adds, save only under the Parlour, and the disturbance was most in other Rooms. And whereas (4.) 'tis objected, That *a Knight that offered to go down could not be permitted.* 'Tis answered me, That the Gentleman might have gone down had he pleased, and his Servant did, who made a careful search, but could find nothing that might be a cause of the noise, which he affirmed to be above, and that it proceeded not from the Cellar. And to disable what other Objecters say, *viz.* (5.) *That there was no Drumming in the midst of any Room, but only a striking on the Boards as it were with a Hammer in a corner of the outsides of the House.* I say, to null this pretence, Mr. *Mompesson* and others assured me, that the noise was oft in the *midst* of the Room, and oft *over head*; and, he saith, that there is scarce a Man or Child in the Village but hath heard and can witness it. And after the first Month it was almost *always* within. Thus, Sir, to the *Objections* of others, which you have gathered. And to your own *Queries* I make this return.

Whereas you inquire (1.) *What part of the Childrens Bed did the Dæmon beat, and what noise did it make?* 'Tis answered, That it beat against the Head and Posts of the Bed, and that when hands were laid on each side of them, at those times they would shake as if they would fall in pieces, but nothing else could be perceived or felt. The noise was like to that of striking with a Hammer. And then (2.) To that whether the *Drummer's Drum*

was

was ever looked on while it beat, or was it only in the dark, I am aſſured, that it was ſeen while the noiſe was made upon it, both by the light of Fire and Candle. (3.) To the Query, *What were the Boards that moved, by what Light was their motion ſeen, and by whom?* Mr. *Mompeſſon* anſwers, They were ſeen move forwards and backwards in the light of clear day, before the Sun was ſet, and by a whole Houſe full of people. And whereas (4) you ask, *In what clearneſs of Light were the Chairs ſeen walk about, and by what Witneſſes?* 'Tis anſwered, That they were ſeen to do ſo by Candle-light, and by divers perſons.

As to what I was a witneſs of my ſelf, I add theſe circumſtances for the ſatisfaction of your *Queries*; The Children were in Bed when the *Scratching* and *Panting* was, but I am ſure did not contribute to thoſe noiſes. I ſaw their hands above the Cloths during the *Scraping*, and ſearched the place whence the noiſe came. To which I might add, That they were little harmleſs modeſt Girls that could not well have been ſuſpected guilty of the confidence of ſuch a Juggle, had it been poſſible they could have acted in it. For the *Panting*, I am certain there was no *Dog* in the *Bed*, for I graſpt it with my hand, and felt it in all parts, eſpecially there where the original motion was. The Bed alſo was ſearcht *under*, but no Dog, nor any Creature elſe could be found there. The Floor I ſaid ſhook with the *Panting* ſenſibly, and yet it was as ſtrong and ſubſtantial an one, as ordinarily is ſeen. But the Children indeed did not ſeem to be much concerned, having been uſed to thoſe and ruder noiſes, and there was Company in the Room to aſſure them.

SECT. II.

The affected humour of Drollery *one Cause of the Misbelief of* Witchcraft, Apparitions, *and* Spirits. *And what shallow Souls the* Drolling Humourists *are in points that require a more searching Wit and solid Judgment.*

THus, Sir, I have briefly answered others *Objections*, and your *Queries*. And because I have an humour to say little more, I'll consider (what you know as well as any Man alive) the Reasons Men are so apt to cavil at this kind of Relations, and are rather willing to believe any thing, than the truth of such a Narrative. They are chiefly I think an affected *humour of Drollery* and *Scoffing*, and a worse cause, *Atheism*.

For the first, the subject of *Witches* and *Apparitions* is an apt and ample occasion. And the Cheats of *Impostours*, the Conceits of *Melancholy*, the Credulity of *Ignorance*, the Tricks of *Waggery*, the more solemn Vanities of *Superstition*, and the Tales of *old Women*, these are excellent Topicks for a frolick and wanton Fancy. And the desire of the *Humourist* hath to be some body, and to have a name above those of common Apprehension, will be sure to actuate the scoffing Vein; in the exercise of which if he have quibled luckily, and made Folks laugh, he is encouraged to take all such occasions to prove himself a Wit, and to shew he had a pretty way to play the Fool. And when he hath wanton'd a while, and frolickly toyed in his affected Merriments, his *Reason* becomes an obedient Servant to his *Fancy*. He makes himself believe (by those Arguments that at first were intended only to make him laugh) and in the end concludes in earnest, that there is neither *Witch* nor *Apparition*, and 'tis well if he stop there.

Now these, Sir, are the *Wits* (if we will believe them) and their Admirers take every Jest for an Argument, and a *loud Laugh*, upon an idle Tale of a *Devil* or a *Witch*,

Witch, for a Demonstration of the *Non-existence* of such Beings. And thus the Humour propagates, and *Saducism* is the fashion. Nor is this all, but by the same method every thing that is sacred or serious hath been exposed, and both *Government* and *Religion* made the Objects of idle and fantastick *Buffoonry*.

* And must we call this Wit, Sir? I confess there are few things that urge me to more indignation than to hear that Name, which deserves to signifie better, to be so injuriously apply'd. Certainly Wit is not an odd *Metaphor*, or a lucky *Simile*, a *Wild fetch*, or unexpected *Inference*, a *Mimick action*, or a pretty *Knack* in telling of a Tale, but it is a Faculty to dive into the Depth of things, to find out their Causes and Relatives, Consonancies and Disagreements, and to make fit, useful, and unobvious Applications of their respective Relations, and Dependencies. For which great and noble Exercises of the Mind, the *Droll* is the most unfit and incompetent Person in the World; and those that on this Account assume the *Prerogative* of being the only *Wits*, are of all Men the most incapable of being so. For that trivial and Pedling way of *Fancy* and *Humour*, to which they are addicted, emasculates their Minds, and makes them superficial, flashy and fantastical, by employing them upon Effeminacies and little apish Fooleries. And by these darling Entertainments of a too fondly-indulged Fancy, the Mind is made incapable of serious and deep Reflections, which give it the noblest and most valuable Improvements. So that I have observed that the *Drolling Humourist*, are for the most part remarkably Defective in *close Ratiocinations*, and the worst in the World at *Inference*. Which is no wonder, since Fancy is a desultory and roving Faculty, and when 'tis not under the conduct of a severe Judgment, not able to keep it self to a steady and resolved Attention, much less to make coherent chains of rational Deduction. So that 'tis next to impossible for such *Wits* as these to arrive to more than a Knack of scoffing at what they

 understand

understand not. And they are under almost an invincible Temptation of doing so, by every thing that is too great for their comprehension. For the *Humour* that acts them is *proud* and *assuming*, and would not have any thing to be valued, of which it self is incapable, and therefore it depretiates all the nobler and more generous matters which it hath very great reason to despair of, and endeavours by ridiculous and insolent Scorn to lift it self above them.

And yet this presumed *Wit*, which raiseth them to such an Elevatian in their own conceit, is but a young and boyish Humour, and the very first Essays of Juvenile Invention are in these Exercises of Fancy, which the maturer Spirit outgrows. For you know, Sir, our *Senses* are the first Powers we exercise and indulge in our greenest years. From them by degrees our *Imaginations* grow up, and their Actions and Gratifications are the Pleasures and entertainments of Youth, which is easy to observe in the little Flirts, Quibbles, and Tricks of Fancy with which the younger Students in the Universities are so much tickled and transported. But when Age and Experience ripens the Judgment (which is the Faculty of slowest Growth) we then slight this Wantonness and toying of our Fancies, and apply our selves to Pursuits that are more manly and concerning. And when the *Judgment* is come to its full exercise and pitch, and hath overcome and silenced the Futilities and Prejudices of Imagination, we are then and not till then grown into Manhood. And those that never arrive to this Consistence, but spend their Age in fooling with their Fancies, they are yet *Children*, though they have *gray Hairs*, and are still *Boys* though past their great *Climacterical*.

I confess, Sir, I am not so *Cynical* and severe, but that I allow even to the more improved *Genius's* their Relaxations and pleasant Intervals. And sage *Socrates* himself sometimes rid the Boys Hobby-horse. *Fancy* may be permitted its plaisance and inoffensive Railleries,

ſo long as they are governed by the Rules of *Vertue*, and a *prudent Judgment*. And no doubt God himſelf allows all our Powers and Faculties their Innocent Gratifications. Yea and I acknowledge a delightful Prettineſs in the reſult of a managed and judicious Fancy, while it is imployed in expoſing Vice, and conceited Follies to deſerved Scorn and Laughter.

But when *Imagination* is rampant, looſe and ungoverned, when it knows no Bounds, and obſerves no Decorums, but ſhoots at random, and inſolently flies at all things that are *auguſt* and *venerable*, its ſallies are then vitious and deteſtable Exceſſes; and thoſe that are of this Humour, are but a ſort of fleering *Buffoons*, that is, a better kind of *Apes* in the judgment of the *Wiſe*, though *Wits* in their own.

SECT. III.

His juſt Reprehenſion of the quibling Debanchees, *for their* Irreverence *toward* Government *and* Religion. *And what an* Abhorrence *and* Antipathy, *they have againſt all noble Theories of* Philoſophy, *which are above the pitch of their weak Intellectuals.*

BUT, Sir, I intimated a greater charge againſt theſe *quibling Debauchees*, viz. that they are the Enemies of *Government* and *Religion*, and ſhall prove it with this Addition, that they are ſo of all the *better* ſorts of *Knowledge*.

* For *Government*, you know, Sir, its Influence depends upon the *Reverence* its *Rulers* have from the *People*, and while they are Men, there will be miſcarriages in publick Affairs and Managements of State. And if all the ſlips and imperfections, all the Miſtakes and Faults of the ſupream Miniſters of Rule be tatled and aggravated among the Herd, the Government will thereby be expoſed to the ſcorns of the Rabble, and loſe a great part

of

of its *Force* with its *Reverence*. And in this it suffers infinitely from the drolling *Phantasticks*, who blow in the Sores till they have rankled them with their malitious and poysonous Breath, and shoot Libels at the Government till they have made deep Wounds in its Reputation and Reverence, and turned every Tongue into a Weapon of War against it. Thus do these *Chams* discover their Fathers nakedness, and rejoyce to publish the Shame of those whose Failures and Infirmities *Loyalty*, *Prudence*, and *Regard to the publick Quiet* should oblige them to conceal.

Nor (2) is *Religion* more beholden to them. For a Mind that useth to whiffle up and down in the *Levities* of *Fancy*, will find a very great *Indisposition* to the serious and solemn exercises of Piety. And that will grow into an *Aversation*, which will be sure to prompt the *Humourist* to take all occasions to expose it; so that he quickly jests at Scripture, and makes a mock of Sin, plays with eternal Flames, and scoffs at those that fear them. As if the *sacred Oracles* were but a *Legend* of *idle Tales*, and *Sin* but a *Name*, coyn'd by Fancy and vain Fears; as if *Hell* were but a *painted Fire*, and the Religious a sort of timorous Fools that are afraid of *Buggs*, and the *Imagery* of *Dreams*; And if these are not yet the real Articles of their Creed, their extravagant Fancies, and vile Affections are like in a short time to encline these *light* and impure Spirits to make them so. And this sort of *Wits* are either *Atheists*, or as great *Prodigies* of *Folly*, if they are not; since to believe a God that made, sees, and will judge them, and to scoff at that *Tremendous Majesty* before whom their *Brother Wits* below tremble, to think the Scriptures are the Inspirations of the God of Heaven, the Laws of Souls, and grand Instruments of immortal Happiness, and yet to Droll upon them, and to jest with the Records of Eternity, to believe endless Torments, and everlasting Joys in the state immediately succeeding these our short and uncertain Beings, and yet to sport with the Wrath of

of God, and to make tricks at Eternal Terrors, to talk trivially of beatifical Enjoyments, and to make as bold with *Heaven* as they do with an imaginary *Elyſium*. Theſe, I ſay, are Follies, theſe are degrees of Impudence, beyond all aggravation or poſſibilities of expreſſion, and did not ſad experience ſhew them, one would ſcarce believe there were ſuch prodigious Monſters in Nature. And to theſe things I add

(3.) Theſe idle *Drolliſts* have an utter Antipathy to all the braver and more generous kinds of *Knowledge*. For that they are perfectly indiſpoſed for *Philoſophy* and all *deep Reſearches*, I have ſaid ſome things that may ſuffice for proof already. And I add this obſervation to confirm it, That among the numerous Youth I have ſeen bred in a great School, and in the Univerſity, I have noted that thoſe of them who are moſt remarkable for Waggiſhneſs and Jeſting, ſeldom arrived to any great maturities or capacity for things of conſequence and weight. And indeed frolickneſs of Fancy, and ſolidity of Judgement, require diſpoſitions of Brain that are very different, and ſuch as ſeldom meet in great Degrees, but in ſome very few extraordinary Tempers. But generally I believe the *Droll* is very unfit for matters of Sublimity and Subſtance, and therefore, as I intimated, endeavours by his Scoffs and Injuries to make them appear as much below his ſerious notice, as they are indeed above his reach, and in this deſign he hath many great Advantages for his Abuſes. For the *Pedantry* of *Diſputers*, that make a loud claim to Knowledge, the *Vanity* of the extravagant ſort of *Chymiſts*, the fond *Boaſts* of ſome bold Pretenders to *Philoſophy* and *Experiment*, the *Strangeneſs* of things that ſoberer Inquiſitors declare *practicable*, but have *not* yet *ſucceeded*, the *meanneſs*, and ſeeming *contemptibleneſs* of many *Subjects*, the *Experimenter* is often obliged to deal in, theſe afford plauſible Arguments for Drolling Harangues, and thoſe Advantages are taken to make the moſt uſeful Theories, and Endeavours appear ridiculous and vain.

And for the encouragement of the *Phantastick* in his insolent humour of Injustice and Abuse, there is a certain *Envy* in Mankind against those that attempt any thing *extraordinary*, which makes men willing to embrace and applaud that which exposeth what themselves cannot act nor comprehend. By reason of which *ill Nature* in the generality, yea even of those that pretend to something, this kind of Wit becomes the most pestilent enemy to *knowledge*, and its Improvements, especially to *Philosophick* Wisdom. For Philosophy can shame and dis-able all the *Reasons* that can be urged against it, but *Jests* and *loud Laughter* are not to be confuted, and yet these are of more force to degrade a thing in the esteem of some sort of Spirits than the most potent demonstrations. And the mischief of it is, that these *Quiblers* and *Buffoons* that have some little *scraps* of Learning matcht with a *great* proportion of *Confidence*, have commonly the luck to be celebrated among the *vulgar* for Men of great Parts and Knowledge, and that opinion of them gains credit to their insolencies and abuses.

But, Sir, I perceive my zeal against those *Pedlars* of *Wit* hath transported me to your trouble I therefore make an abrupt return to my other Reason mentioned of mens Disbelief of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, and that is,

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SECT.

SECT. IV.

Atheism, *another cause of Disbelief of* Apparitions *and* Spirits. *With an Account of his Discourse with a profest* Atheist. *And a touch on one special cause of the increase of* Atheism, viz. *The placing* Religion *in* Opinions.

(11.) A*THEISM*, the Folly of which accursed Madness, you, Sir, have so fully discovered to the World in your incomparable Works, and so throughly understand the Mysteries of that black Conspiracy against Heaven, that it would be fond for me to think to suggest any Notion on the Subject which you could not teach. But, Sir, I have a relation about this matter to make you, which, I believe, you will not be unwilling to hear; And you shall have it, when I have taken notice, that there is a *latent Atheism* at the Root of the *Saducean* Principle. For too many deny *Witches*, because they believe there are no *Spirits*, and they are so perswaded, because they own no *Being* in the World but *Matter*, and the results of *Motion*, and consequently can acknowledge nothing of a *God*.

It hath indeed been a Question, whether 'tis possible there should be such a Prodigy as a *Speculative Atheist* in Nature, and I could wish it were so still. But alas! our Age and Experience hath ended the Dispute, and we need not search the dark and barbarous corners of *America*, nor seek the Monster among the Wild Men of the Desart, we have found him in times of Light, in a witty and civilized Region, and in an Age of the greatest Knowledge and Improvements; he skulks not among the thickest of the Woods, nor seeks Caverns for Concealment, but braves the Sun, and appears in the clearest day. And the Fool is not so modest as he was in the days of the Royal *Prophet*, to say only in his Heart, *There is no God*. We know a bolder sort of Infidels,

and

and I can ſay, Sir, from a particular experience, That there are who deny *the Exiſtence of a Deity.* I met with one ſuch ſome years ſince in *London*, who confidently, and without mincing, denied that there was any ſuch Being, and bid me prove it. I wondered at the boldneſs as well as the impiety of his ſaying, and becauſe I had a great compaſſion for one in ſo deplorable a State, I reſolved not to exaſperate him by Paſſion, hard Words, or damning Sentences, but calmly and without ſeeming Emotion, diſcourſed the buſineſs with him. I granted him all I ſafely or reaſonably could, and all that might ſerve my deſign for his conviction, before we began the cloſe Engagement; that ſo he might have leſs prejudice againſt what was ſaid by one whom he might ſee not to be of a narrow confined Judgment, and that I might not have the diſadvantage of being put upon the impugning of Principles, which are plauſible by the great Names or Reaſons of any eminent Philoſophers, and that were not abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the Propoſition for which I undertook.

* Such were the *Platonick Anima mundi*, the *Eternity* and *Immenſity* of the World, which, Sir, though I ſhould not affirm, yet I would not at that time deny, but quietly granted them as Hypotheſes, being willing to permit his belief of theſe in order to the convincing and diſabuſing him in his main and deadly Concluſion. And by thoſe Conceſſions I gain'd the advantages I expected. For hereby he was diſappointed of all thoſe plauſibilities which I perceived he was wont to urge for thoſe Doctrines. And I ſaw, that when he was preſt with the neceſſity of a *Cauſe* of all things, and a *Firſt*, his Refuge was, that old *Epicurean* one of an *Eternal infinite Matter*, which when his unwary *Oppoſites* would attempt to diſprove, by endeavouring to demonſtrate the Beginning and Finiteneſs of the World, they gave him the opportunity of a colourable Defence, and diverted from the main Theſis which might be evinced, though the *Immenſity* and *Eternity* of the *Univerſe* were granted:

granted: And ſo they let him go from an Aſſertion that is moſt impious and abſurd, to another which is tolerably accountable and ſpecious. And the Concluſion would be at laſt, that ſince the Undertaker could not prove the *World* was not *Infinite* and *Eternal*, he could not make it appear *there was a God*. By which Procedure the Arguer falls from a Propoſition which is the moſt demonſtrable one in Nature, to another which cannot be cleared but by ſuppoſing the main thing in Queſtion.

But beſides this ſhift, which my Conceſſion made inſignificant; when my Atheiſt was urged with the *Order*, *Harmony*, *Contrivance* and *Wiſdom* that is viſible in the Creatures, he would betake him to his *Anima Mundi*, the Exiſtence of which, when thoſe other Antagoniſts he had dealt with would endeavour to overthrow, then they took a thing of harder probation than the main Concluſion.

I ſay therefore, Sir, I permitted him to aſſume theſe Principles, and then proved, That though the *World* were *Immenſe* and *Eternal*, yet, That 'tis not poſſible meer *blind* unguided *Matter* ſhould ſhuffle it ſelf into ſuch *regular* and *accurate* Productions as we ſee are the Reſults of every day without the Manuduction of ſome *Knowing Agent* and *Contriver*, as you have fully made good in your excellent *Antidote*. And when he at this turn took ſanctuary in an *Anima Mundi*, as the Cauſe of all the art and exactneſs in Nature, I granted him the Being; but askt him, Whether he took it for a Subſtance that was *Intelligent* or devoid of Reaſon and Perception. When he ſeemed to incline to this latter, I ſhew'd him that ſuch a *Principle* as had no *ſenſe* or *knowledge* ſignified no more to his purpoſe, than if he had ſtuck in the Hypotheſis of meer *Matter* and *Motion*. But when he allowed his great Soul to be an *intellectual* Being, as he at laſt did, and that it was *Immenſe* and *Eternal*, (as he was forced to do by his Aſſertion, that this Soul was diffuſed through the whole Maſs of his *Infinite* and *Eternal* Matter) I ſhewed him, that in effect he

was

was brought by his own Principles to the acknowledgment of a God, though he gave him another Name.

Thus, Sir, I pursued my Infidel into all his Starting-holes and Retreats, and drive him from one Assertion to another, its contradictory; and then back again to the first Thesis, and so up and down till at length he began to be ashamed of his shuffling, and confest, that I had said to him more than he had heard, and some things that he would consider. He desired that I would give him the Substance of my Discourse in Writing, which I prepared for him, and shall perhaps ere long give an Account of these and other dependent Matters to the Publick.

After the heat of our Engagement was over, I was willing to learn by what means he came into that desperate Infidelity, and understood from him, * that he had run through the several Stages of Modern Sects, not stopping till he came down to that *Sink* of Folly and Madness, *Quakerism*, and thence made a step into *Atheism*, which is no great leap; For East and West at long run meet, and are the same. And certainly he that places his *Religion* in *Opinions*, and judgeth it now to lie in this form of Belief, and then in another, when he comes to consider the vast variety of Sects, the confidence of each in his own Reasonings, the Pretences of all to *Scripture-Reason*, and *Antiquity*, the Antipathy they have one against another, and the doubtfulness, if not falshood, of things that each of them hold sacred and certain; I say, he that takes *Religion* to be an adherence to *Sects* and *Opinions*, upon the Accounts mentioned, when he reflects, is in mighty danger of being an *Atheist*. And except he fix at last upon the few plain acknowledged Essentials of Belief and good Life, (if he be of an anxious inquisitive Mind, and not obstinately resolved in the way of his particular Sect) 'tis a Miracle if he ends not there at last. For he having establisht this, That Religion consists in the Way or Form of some *Party* or other, and then having successively deserted

ted those Sects that had most of his favour and affection, and so past from one to another through all the steps of Descent, when at length he is faln out with the last, he hath nothing else to flie to but contempt of *all Religion* as a meer *Juggle* and *Imposture*. This I took to be this Gentleman's case, and I believe much of the general Atheism of our days is to be ascribed to this Cause.

Thus, Sir, I have followed the humour of Writing, as it led me, and expect your pardon of this Ramble upon the account of that liberty which uses to be allowed in Intercourses of this Nature, and more from that Friendship with which you are pleased to honour,

Sir,

Your Affectionate

Humble Servant,

J. G.

Advertisement.

THis Letter was left out in the former Edition, the *Publisher* confining it to fewer Sheets, that there might be the more room left for Stories. But the fore-part so particularly satisfying *Objections* and *Queries* touching the stirs in Mr. *Mompesson*'s House, and the rest being so well levelled against *Saducism* and *Atheism* (the routing of which is the scope and design of the whole Book) and it being written with that smartness of Wit and soundness of Judgment for the main, I thought fit to take it in again in this new Edition of *Saducismus Trium-*

phatus, as a piece sufficiently congenerous thereto. And it is published unalteredly in every respect, unless in one word that was rather *French* than *English*, and so not so easie to pass with the vulgar. And now it is republished, I think it not amiss to bestow some few *Advertisements* on it, as has been done on several other pieces of this Book.

Sect. 1. *Those Objections you pickt up*, &c. Though the more perfect *Narrative*, in the last Edition, of the stirs of *Tedworth*, made this part of this Letter less necessary, yet if any one consider the particular satisfaction here given to every *Objection* and *Query*, and compare it with the aforesaid *Narrative*, I believe he will confess it was worth the while to take in again, in this second Edition, this Letter omitted in the former.

Sect. 2. *And must we call this Wit*, *Sir*, &c. Certainly not *Wisdom*, nor *Wit*, in the better sense and meaning of the word, as it signifies *a sound and able Faculty of the Mind*, *whether natural or improved*, *to discern and judge of things*. But the *Wit* that is so called now adays, is rather the *Paralytick* motions, or *Antick* Dances of that Faculty that is properly to be called Wit, than the *genuine* operations thereof, the demitting of *that* to meaner offices, which God has given us for *better* purposes. And as *J. G.* phrases it, to turn *Drolls* and *Fidlers* to the *Atheist*, to make his Worship merry. Which is a very mean imployment for so noble a Being as the Rational Soul of Man.

Sect. 3. *For Government you know*, *Sir*, &c. What the Writer of this Letter delivers in this Section, is worth the most serious consideration of all Men, that are not so well affected to Government as they ought to be. Whose Authority is certainly most *Sacred*, and their *Rule*, if it be *tolerable*, *exceeding commendable*, those in high Places having such strong Temptations from the Flatteries and Circumventions of cunning Parasites and forcible Attempts of *Things*, whereby they are attacqued daily, and too often drawn into Mistakes

before they are aware. Upon which, for others to insult, is a most savage and inhumane thing, and quite contrary to the Law of Charity, which is the indispensable Rule of a Christian, who cannot but think such Demeanors as course and barbarous, as the sporting at a man's breaking a limb by a fall from an horse, or his being cast into some desperate sickness. Besides, that to *sport* at such things is to give themselves the *Lye*; and when they would pretend them great and heinous Misdemeanours, to acknowledge them more slight, else how could they be the *due* Object of *Wit* and *Drollery*. I repeat it again, and indeed I have often and often thought of it, that Princes and grand Ministers of State that may seem to acquit themselves tolerably well, do really acquit themselves exceeding well, considering the high Temptations, they have, and are worthy of all loyal Affection and Honour. How highly then are those Princes to be honoured, and sincerely loved, who rule well, and have a real tender regard to the peace and welfare of all their Subjects. The other two parts of this Section are penned down so full and home, and with that briskness and Judgement, that nothing can be added that may not seem superfluous.

Sect. 4. *Such were the Platonick* Anima Mundi, *the Eternity and Immensity of the World; which, Sir, though I should not affirm, yet I would not at that time deny*, &c. This Passage is set down with caution and discretion, in that he professes that these Concessions were only *ad hominem*, and made so good use of, that he caught his Adversary in his own Net, who being forced by dint of Argument to acknowledge that the Phænomena of the World could not but be from a knowing Principle, but casting it upon his *Anima Mundi*, to avoid the Profession of a Deity, by his granting, (because of the *Eternity* and *Immensity* of the *Matter*) this *Anima* to be *immense* and *eternal*, as well as *knowing*, he was forced to acknowledge, in a considerable sort, a Deity whether he would or no. Better thus far than to be a downright dull

dull *Atheist*. But I must confess I do not hold any one an *Orthodox Deist*, that does not hold the *Matter* created of God, as well as contrived by his Wisdom into such *Phænomena* as appear in the World.

Besides, he might have puzzled and confounded the Atheist in demonstrating that the World (being an orderly continuance of things in successive motion and duration) could not be *ab æterno*. First, because it is plain and undeniable, that in *successive* duration every moment that is past, was sometime present, and therefore, since they all must be one after another, that all, at least but one, were sometime to come. Which plainly evinces the World could not be *ab æterno*. Again, this is most certainly true, that be the World supposed as much *ab æterno* as you will, yet according to the order of Nature and Time, there was *Life* before there was any *Death*, and a *Standing* of Spirits before any *Fall*. He might here therefore demand of the *Atheist* how long it was e'er any *Death* was, or *Lapse* of any order of Beings to a worse State. Was it an infinity of time before that. And thirdly, and lastly, If there has been an *eternal* and *infinite Succession* of time till now, how come we to find our selves in being. For if from *us*, suppose in the time B, backwards, the *Succession* is *infinite*, it is likewise infinite *ab æterno*, or from A to B. And as he can never come in *Succession* to A, backward from B, because it is infinite, so succession from A to B, being alike infinite, it could never come to our turn to be in Being. Nothing but *stable* and *unsuccessive* duration can be *infinite*, where there is nothing *past*, nor *to come*. From this *eternal* NUNC STANS, wherein there is nothing *to come*, and which it is impossible to be *successive* (and therefore nothing by supposing it *successive* can be really argued from it) doth *successive* duration commence, which it is alike impossible to be *eternal* or *infinite*.

Indeed if the *Infinity* was not in *Succession*, but at once as *infinite Space*, I grant that we might be in a set

point of it, which would look like the term of, suppose, its *Eastern* Infinity butting upon us, from which Term you might conceive an infinite Line thence *Eastward*, and such as we nor any other moveable thing could get to the end of, it being infinite. And as certain it is, that no moveable thing which took its motion absolutely from the *Eastern* Infinity, could ever come to us, or to the Point where we are, the length being as infinite forwards from the *Eastern* Infinity, as it is back again thitherward from us, there being the same distance, as *Aristotle* somewhere speaks, *from* Thebes *to* Athens, *and from* Athens *to* Thebes. Which further may illustrate the Impossibility of finding our selves here in Being, if the *successive* duration of the World has been *ab æterno*. For it being as infinite from A to B as from B to A, it is manifest it could never fall to our share to exist the time we do, it being an infinite distance from A and never to be run through. This Point of the Impossibility of *successive* Durations being *eternal* or *infinite*, it is sufficient that I but touch on it here, I having so fully handled it in my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, and clear'd it from all Objections and Evasions whatsoever. See *cap.* 10. and the *Scholia* thereon. Where also you may see how little reason there is to hold the *Matter* of the World *infinite*, and that it is part of the *Essential Sanctity* and singular *Transcendency* of the *exalted Nature* of *God*, that *He* alone be *Eternal* as to *Duration*, and *Immense* in *Amplitude*.

And the suffering God to be an *Anima Mundi*, though it served *J. G.* his turn at that bout, yet this also is hugely against the *Essential Sanctity* of the *Divine Majesty*, whose excellency it is infinitely below, to grow, as it were, into one *Suppositum* with the visible World. Which errour might be the main Foundation or Prop of much of the Idolatry of the ancient *Pagans*. There is no *Anima Mundi*, but what is purely a *Creature*, and that is the *Spirit of Nature*, so far from being a God, that it scarce has any *Perception* but only an *Omniform*

Plastick power, or *Vital Laws* of ordering the Matter of the World, imparted to it essentially from the Wisdom of God. To call this an *Anima Mundi*, may be Sense good enough. But the *Platonick* Θεία ψυχὴ, or *Anima Divina*, which answers to the *Holy Spirit* in our Christian *Trinity*, they are the third *Hypostases* of the *pure Deity* in both, of an *eternal*, *necessary*, and *immutable* Essence and Existence, and therefore in no wise are *creatural*, but *purely Divine*, and were before ever the World was or could be.

And now the *World is*, there is no need of any Hypostatical Union betwixt the *Platonick Divine Soul*, and it, to be conscious of what things happen here, or to moderate the Matter of the World. For the latter is done by the *Spirit of Nature*, and the former requires no such Union, since we our selves have the perception of what is no part of our own *Suppositum*. But as we see things reflected from a Looking-glass, our Eye having no Hypostatical Union therewith, so are all the *Energies* of this exterior Creation reflected into the perception of the Deity, without any such derogatory Union of the Godhead therewith. According as is expressed in *Psychozoia*, Cant. 1. Stanz. 50.

In this clear shining Mirrour Psyche *sees*
All that falls under Sense, what ere is done
Upon the Earth, the Desarts shaken Trees,
The mournful Winds, the solitary wonne
Of dreaded Beasts, the Libyan *Lions moan,*
When their hot Entrails scorch with hunger keen,
And they to God for Meat do deeply groan,
He hears their cry, he sees of them unseen,
His Eyes encompass all that in the wide World been.

He sees the weary Traveller sit down
In the wast Field oft-times with careful chear,
His chafed feet and the long way to Town
His burning Thirst, Faintness, and Panick *Fear,*

Because he sees not Him that stands so near,
Fetch from his Soul deep sighs with count'nance sad,
But He looks on to whom nought doth dis'pear.
O happy Man that full perswasion had
Of this, if right at home nought of him were ydrad.

And then again, *Stanz.* 54. there is more expresly mention of this *Mirrour*, even for the representing of *Sounds* to set out the perfectness of these exteriour Perceptions in the Divine Nature, that they are rather *Active* than *Passive*, as *Scaliger* says the Sight is, though other Senses be not. Whence ὁρᾶν, signifying transitively, governs an *Accusative* Case, when other *Verbs* of *sense* govern a *Genitive*, as he is pleased to criticize. But the abovesaid *Stanza* is this.

Do not I see? I slumber not nor sleep,
Do not I hear? each noise by shady Night,
My Mirrour *represents, when Mortals steep*
Their languid Limbs in Morpheus *dull delight,*
I hear such sounds as Adam'*s brood would fright.*
The doleful Echo's from the hollow Hill,
Mock howling Wolves, the Woods with black delight,
Answer rough Pan *his Pipe, and eke his Skill,*
And all the Satyr-*routs rude whoops and shoutings shrill.*

According to that in the *Book* of *Wisdom*, chap. 1. v. 7. *For the Spirit of the Lord fills the whole World, and he that containeth all things, hath knowledge of the Voice.*

For as it is the *height* of the Excellency of the *Divine Essence* and *Energy*, not only to be *infinite* in *itself*, but also to be able to *create* another Essence with its *Energy*, distinct from itself, such as this orderly Universe is, so is it likewise the Perfection of the *Divine Knowledge*, besides that *Intellectual Omnisciency*, which contains all the Natures and Ideas of things, and the whole comprehension of Providence, with the Series thereof from everlasting to everlasting all at once, unalterably and

immoveably; which *Intellectual Life*, or Energy in God, is the *Αἰὼν* of the *Platonists*, and the true Notion of *Eternity*, I say, it is likewise the Perfection of the *Divine Knowledge* to have the Perception of all the Energies of the *Creation*, as well when they are *in fieri*, and that they are now *in fieri*, when they were not before, as in that *Intellectual* comprehension which is *at once* from everlasting to everlasting. For in an *infinite Life* as *God* is, there can be no *distraction*, his *animadversion* necessarily being *infinite*. And if we do not give this *exterior* Perception to him, we cannot be assured, that he knows when we pray unto him. Which methinks would be a foul defect, and a great damp to our Devotion. When as the other opinion does not only encourage *Devotion*, but naturally strikes also a due *awe* and *reverence* towards him in our Addresses.

I know there are some *dry* Contemplators that would have God to have no new Perceptions, *pro re nata*, lest he might seem in a Physical sense *alterable* or *mutable*. But these are the very Cobwebs and *Quisquiliæ* of the Schools, who thinned and spread every Attribute of God to as infinite excess as they could, forgetting that one necessary Measure of all his Attributes, *That they be no further applied to him than they imply perfection.* Which is a thing worth our most serious consideration. And certainly it would be an Imperfection in God if he knew not things *past* that they *are past*, things *present* that they *are present*, and things *to come*, that they *are yet to come.* But he could not know them to *be past* when they were *to come*, or to be *present* when they are *to come* or *past*, or that they are *yet to come* when they are *present*. And therefore you must either make God ignorant of things here below, or make his exterior Perceptions change as the Scene of things change, *ad extra*, or else his Perceptions will prove *false*, which is intolerable to admit, either in Philosophy or Theology. Thus I have run out before I was aware, but I hope it is not an useless excursion. For nothing can move a Man more to do all things

with

with all Faithfulneſs and Decorum, both in private and before Men, than to remember that the All-preſent God is really a *Hearer* of his Words, and *Seer* of his Actions.

That he had run through the ſeveral Stages of modern Sects, not ſtopping till he came down to that ſink of folly and madneſs Quakeriſm, *and thence made a ſtep into Atheiſm,* &c. This is a remarkable paſſage of his Letter, and worth our conſidering. I muſt confeſs, that his expreſſion here of the condition of *Quakeriſm*, is very ſharp and Satyrical, to call it that *ſink* of *Madneſs* and *Folly*. Which therefore I conceive he ſpake with an eye to their firſt appearance, which was very *uncouth* and *frantick*, and not at all like the appearance of the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but as it were of ſo many *Demoniacks*. Which Scene, though true, being ſo unpleaſant, I will not repeat here, having ſpoke enough of it in my *Myſtery of Godlineſs*, lib. 4. cap. 6. and lib. 10. cap. 13. And the precedent Story of him at *Balſham*, that was inveigled in *Quakeriſm*, is of the ſame ſuit. But to deal impartially touching them, if we take our meaſures from *Robert Barklay*'s Apology, which repreſents them as they were when he wrote, which is not paſſing five or ſix years ago, they are very much changed from what they were firſt, for the better, and a moſt juſt and impartial eſtimate I have made of them, and of their way, in my *Scholia* upon my *Divine Dialogues*, Dialog. 5. Sect. 15. Which he that is curious, may peruſe in the ſecond Tome of my *Volumen Philoſophicum*. But that Apology of *R. Barclay*'s, was many years after this Letter of *Joſeph Glanvil* to my ſelf, which may the better excuſe him for the ſeverity of this paſſage. And how natural and eaſie a ſtep there is out of *Enthuſiaſm* into *Atheiſm*, I have noted in my *Enthuſiaſmus Triumphatus*.

But of what danger it is to forſake the Communion of the *Truly Catholick* Church, ſuch as is purged from the groſs dregs of Antichriſtian Superſtition and Idolatry, the example of him at *Balſham* and this *Atheiſt*, whom

whom *J. G.* conversed with, are egregious Instances. To forsake the sentiments of the ancient Apostolick Church (for such are the Reformed Churches freed from the filth of the predicted Apostasie, and such in a special manner is the Church of *England*) to follow any *private Spirit* is such a piece of folly and giddiness, that the extravagance thereof is above expression, and the danger so obvious, that they must be very blind and stupid that discern it not at first sight. All are not born to be Philosophers or Theologers, and to have a faculty to decide Controversies by the edge of their own Wit and Reason. Wherefore it is both their duty and safety to adhere to the sense of the Church Catholick before the Apostasie, such as it was for about Four hundred years after *Christ*. Within which time the *Divinity* of *Christ*, and the *Triunity* of the *Godhead* was professed as publick Articles of the Church, and the *distinction* of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* owned. Whence it is demonstrable how *innocent* the one is, and how *Orthodox* the other. For if the Articles of the *Divinity of Christ*, and *Triunity* of the *Godhead* were false, they had also been *Idolatrous*, and the Apostasie had begun much sooner than it is predicted to begin in that admirable *Book* of *Prophecies*, the *Apocalypse*. Nor were the late *Reformation*, which yet certainly it is (and I have undeniably demonstrated it in the Second Part of my *Appendage* to my *Exposition of Daniel's Visions*) the *Rising of the Witnesses*. For they had been strange Witnesses that should still profess the *Divinity* of *Christ*, and *Triunity* of the *Godhead*, if those Articles were false, since it necessarily follows that they were *ipso facto*, grosly Idolatrous; or retained *Episcopacy*, if it had been *Antichristian*. These things are so exceeding plain, that no man can deny them that has Parts and Leisure, and without prejudice considers them. And if the *Sectaries* that pretend so much to the *Spirit* above others, had the Spirit of interpreting and understanding Prophecies aright, it would convince them of their Errour and Schism. But if this slowly goes down with them,

they are to examine themſelves, if it be not an Humour in them to deny any ſuch *Symmetral* times of the Church, for about four hundred Years, that they may ſtill find matter for *eternal Cavils* and *Schiſms.*

But now the main Articles of our Faith being thus redoubledly aſſured to us, both by the *Symmetricalneſs* of the *Primitive Times* for about four hundred Years, and the *Teſtimonies* of the *Riſen Witneſſes*, of which Political Reſurrection, neither *Quaker*, *Familiſt*, nor *Socinian* partook of, as appears by the *Harmony of Confeſſions* of the *Reformed Churches*, no reformed Church owning their Opinions, how juſt, how ſober, and Chriſtian a thing is it for every private Man to adhere to this common Faith touching theſe main Articles, and not to commit himſelf to theſe *Ignes Fatui* of *private Spirits*, which may lead him ſo about as at laſt to plunge him into the Dregs of *Atheiſm*, as it happened to this Gentleman?

That Spirit which leads from the *Communion of the Antient Apoſtolick Church* (which is as a light ſet upon an Hill, and ſo certainly to be known by thoſe two Characters abovementioned) and carries Men into the dark holes of *Schiſmatical* Conventicles, is moſt aſſuredly, let them pretend to what they will, a Spirit of Errour, and a deluſion of the Devil, and a certain Symptome that ſuch Men are *Carnal*, as highly as they think of themſelves, *having not the Spirit*, moſt aſſuredly having not the Spirit in that meaſure whereby they become ſuch living Members of the *true Catholick Church*, which is the *Body* of *Chriſt*, that they plainly feel what hurts it, at leaſt what palpably ſtops its growth, what wounds it, what hazards the very Life and being of it. Can they pretend to the *Spirit of Chriſt*, in any due meaſure, that are devoid of this neceſſary Sympathy and Senſe of the common good of *his Body*, and the intereſt of *his Kingdom*, which is *Reformed Chriſtendom.* The enemies whereof what do they deſire? what do they endeavour more than to divide and ſubdivide us? to hurry us into

Opinions

Opinions and Practices as unlike the ancient Apostolick Church as may be; to make us appear as whimzical, and ungovernable as they can, thereby to expose us to *contempt* and *loathing*, and to harden the hearts of the Princes and Prelates of *Christendom* against a just Reformation, and those that have Reformed, to make them half sick and weary of the Reformation, by Reason of the unsettledness and distraction of the people. Does the Spirit of Christ then lead to the destroying, and laying waste his own Church and Kingdom? Certainly that Spirit that hinders the growth, and hazards the Being of the Kingdom of *Christ*, must be not the *Spirit* of *God*, but the *Spirit* of *Giddiness*, of *Errour* and *Delusion*.

Wherefore the ancient Authority of the Church, while it was *Symmetral*, is to be acknowledged, and those main points, touching *Faith* and *Worship*, to be adhered to, and professed, the Holy Ghost having set his Seal thereto in those Divine Prophecies of the *Apocalypse*, and this detestable *Pride* and loathsome *Ingratitude* (whenas things are so well settled by lawful Authority in the late *Rising of the Witnesses*) thus to break from so *Authentick* a *Constitution*, and set up *Schismatical Congregations*, is heartily to be repented of, nor are we any longer to be deluded by that false Spirit, that under pretence of bringing in a more pure and Spiritual Dispensation, undermines and hazards the very Being of the true Kingdom of Christ, by this odious Spectacle of Multifarious Schisms.

It is not the breath of any meer Man that can convey the Spirit of God to us, and it is a false pretence of these high-flown *Spiritualists*, that think that in their *Schismatical* Worship they have nearer Communion with God, than those that adhere to the way of the Ancient Apostolick *Faith* and Practice. For *they* in their Meetings are but taught by *Men*, and those speaking the sense of a *Private Spirit*, they being Straglers from the Fold of Christ, as having bid adieu to the Ancient Catho-

lick and Apoſtolick Church; Of which yet the Church of *England*, which they have forſaken, is a genuine part, and therefore its *Miniſtry* more *ſafe* and *authoritative*, they ſpeaking the ſenſe of the ancient Apoſtolick Church, not any blind Conceits or Fancies of their own. And for the ſaving Operations of the *Spirit*, nothing is more inculcated than that in our Publick Service. Nor is the *Miniſtry* of *Man* ſo much the Conveyer of it, as the *Sincerity* of the *Party*, who deſires to partake of it. It is the Gift of Chriſt to the Sincere, who has told us from his own Mouth here upon Earth, *That bleſſed are they which hunger and thirſt after Righteouſneſs, for they ſhall be ſatisfied.*

It is not the hearing of a *gracious* Man once or twice a week, or being preſent ſometimes in the Meetings, whether *Silent* or *Vocal*, of a Company of ſullen *Melancholiſts*, or *Hiſtrionical Mock-Prophets*, but a *firm* and unſhaken *Faith* in the *Power* of the *promiſed Spirit of Chriſt*, for the ſubduing our Corruptions, a fixt and continued Reſolution of not offending the God of Heaven in any thing ſmall or great, a cloſe Guard upon our Words and Actions, as having a ſenſe of the Preſence of the Divine Majeſty all the day long, a perpetual Exerciſe of mortifying the Impetuoſities of our own Will, and of extinguiſhing all the ſweet Reliſhes of Self-intereſt and Vain-glory, and a conſtant endeavour of wholly reſigning our ſelves to God and his Service, who has wholly made us Body and Soul, and ſtrictly and conſcientiouſly walking according to *His* Will revealed in his *written* Word, that is the method of attaining to a more near Communion with God, and the only way of more fully participating of his Spirit. And this certainly may as well be done holding ſtill Communion with the Church of *England*, as in any new-fangled Way, that either the *Cunning* of *Man*, or *Subtilty* of *Satan* can invent. And therefore it is rather a *wanton* kind of *Hypocriſie* in Men, or *Inſincerity* to *true* Religion *indeed*, that makes them break from the Eſtabliſht Religion of the

Church

Church of *England*, reformed according to the old *Symmetral* and *Apostolical* Pattern, than any colour of Necessity driving them thereto.

And thus much briefly to those high-flown *Spiritualists.* But what I now shall utter is still more weighty, forasmuch as it concerns a greater number of Men, that have an honest inclination to Religion, but their Education, Parts, and Calling does not capacitate them to make so strict inquiry into the Doctrines thereof, as others may make, but seek some *External Authority* to support their Faith, and thereby lye obnoxious to the solicitations of the *Emissaries* of *Rome*, who boast so much in the *safe Anchorage* of their Church. To these Men therefore I appeal, what can be more safe for them than to adhere to the *Authority* and Profession of the *Ancient Apostolick*, and *truly* Catholick Church, such as it was found before the *Apostasie*, and is born witness to in the Oracles of the Holy Scripture, as I have above declared; To adhere, I say, and keep close to this steady Rock, and stop their Ears against the vain pretences of any idle *Fanatical New-Lights*, or bold *Enthusiasts.* Now he that adheres to the Church of *England*, does adhere to this ancient Apostolick Church, the Church of *England*, being reformed to that Pattern, as to the Frame of *Government*, and Articles of *Faith*, and for the Precepts of an holy Life, besides what occurs in our *Liturgy*, *Litany*, and *Catechism*, they are so plain in the Scripture, and so fully and effectually declared by those of our own Church in *Printed Sermons*, and several other Writings, to say nothing of the good Preaching up and down, that no well-minded Christian can want any due Instruction.

This is a Consideration, the best accommodate, that I know, to keep us all in one, which is to acknowledge the *Authority* and *Undeceivedness* in matters of any moment, though not *Undeceivableness* or *Infallibility* of the ancient Catholick Church before the Apostasie came in. Which *true* and *just* ground will give us all the Advantages

tages and more, than that false Boast of the *Roman* Church, as if *She*, forsooth, were *Infallible*, and therefore irrefragable. When as that one Tenent of *Transubstantiation* alone, sufficiently demonstrates it to be a shameless Pretence, that Doctrine being plainly a Fardel of *Impossibilities* and *Contradictions*, to say nothing of their infinite *Superstitions*, *Impostures*, and gross *Idolatries*, and barbarous and bloody *Persecutions*, and *Murders*, for not submitting to them. So that she is a Church all over besmeared with *Sordidly-gainful Superstitions*, *Idolatries*, and *Blood*. And therefore she being deprehended so grosly and enormously *Erroneous* or *Imposturous* and *Deceitful*, and supporting all her impious Opinions upon that single pretence of her *Infallibility*, she has manifestly *forfeited* her Credit before all the World, and most justly lost her Authority, that no Man can, unless he be bewitcht, lean upon this broken Reed of *Egypt*, which is a fictitious and certainly false pretence to *Infallibility* by an apostatized Church shamelesly obtruding upon those they can deceive, all the Abominations that are declared against in *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*, where the *Visions* represent the state of those times into which this grand Apostasie fell. What Blindness therefore or Madness is it in any Man to repose himself on the Authority of such a Church. God open the Eyes of all Men that mean sincerely in Religion, that they never fall into such a foul Ditch as this. But the Church of *England* keeping to the ancient *Symmetral* Church, to whom the Divine Oracles bear witness, is in truth *infallible* in the main Points abovementioned, and in all things else material to Salvation, and therefore all sorts of People learned and unlearned may safely embosom themselves in her so long as she continues such, which I wish may be for ever.

In the time we see what a mighty Advantage it would be if that, as our own Church in particular, so all the *Reformed Churches* would joyntly exhibite the same unexceptionable Pattern of Antiquity to be followed that bears

bears a juſt Authority with it, which the generality of Men may ſafely rely on, and that *Independency* and the *Guidance* of *private Spirits* ſeducing Men from the *National Churches* fram'd to that *ancient Platform*, were quite out of faſhion in all *Reformed Chriſtendom*, and that all Men with alacrity of Mind, and ſincerely loyal Affections, would ſhew themſelves morigerous to their Supream Governours. For this is the only effectual and warrantable way that I can conceive for the enlarging the *Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus*, and the over-throwing the *Dominion* of *Antichriſt*. The other Scene of things, as I noted above, hardens the hearts of the Princes and Prelates of Chriſtendom, who cannot but think it a ſorry Exchange to accept of *Presbytery*, which would prove but a *Democratical Papacy*, for the *Order* of *Epiſcopacy*, or a diſmal Spectacle, to ſee the Body of Chriſt mouldered into an infinity of *Sects* and *Schiſms*, as a dead Carcaſs diſſolved into a multitude of crawling Worms, and the decent Grandeur and Splendour of the Church to dwindle into diſperſed Companies of obſcure Conventicles, and the juſt and honourable Revenues of it, to ſhrink into the poor Arbitrarious Pittancies of either the *appointment* of the *State*, or uncertain *Benevolence* of the *Fickle People*. That Scene of things, I ſay, cannot but harden their hearts againſt liſtening to never ſo juſt a Reformation for the further enlargement of Chriſt's Kingdom, and hazzard the very *Being* of the *Reformed* Churches. Whenas this way, which I wiſh may obtain, would ſilence *Atheiſm* and *Fanaticiſm* at once, and be the readieſt means of bringing on thoſe happy times of the Church which God has promiſed and predicted by the Mouth of his holy Prophets.

But this is the groſs Iniquity and Madneſs of the Sectaries, that they think ſo goodly and choicely every one of their own Party, that they think it worth the while to hazard the ſafety of Reformed Chriſtendom to ſupport *any how*, and *keep up* for the *preſent*, the ſmall freaks and conceits of their own ſelf-choſen Way and

Sect. Than which nothing can be conceived more enormous and outragious amongst the dealings of the Sons of Men, to bring into imminent danger so *solemn* and *sacrosanct* a *Constitution* as the *Reformation*, for the *dreams* and *opinions* of *private Spirits*, which no sober Christian would hazard for small indifferent dispensable things, though they had the stamp of *publick allowance* upon them, which it is, and ought to be, in the hand of the Sovereign Power to alter for the common good. And verily this *Fanatical* distemper is so heinous and abominable, that they that are on the *right* side, ought to take heed how in the least shew they imitate it. For a Man may be *factiously* affected, even in a *right* cause, and bear an over-proportionated zeal for things of smaller concern, out of an over-heightned Animosity against the present Sects, to the hazarding of the quiet settlement of the Whole. And, if any one be so affected, I appeal to the sober, if he may not justly be reputed to play the *Sectarian* himself, though it be *against* the *Sectaries*. No such Cure for our Breaches and Wounds as the most *profound Humility* in *all* Parties, and *unfeigned* mutual *Love* and *Charity*. Of which Virtues or Graces whosoever is found destitute, let him call himself (of whatever denomination) *Christian*, as loud as he please, he has really in him *not one* spark of *saving Christianity*.

Thus have I run out again further than I was aware of, one thing drawing on another. But I hope I have hit on some things, which if seriously considered, and duly improved by those that are most concerned, may contribute their share, to the peace and settlement of the Church of *Christ*, which should be the aim and desire of us all.

AN ACCOUNT
Of what happen'd in the
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
In the Years 1669, 1670. and upwards.

IN

Relation to ſome Perſons that were accuſed for *WITCHES*;

AND

Tryed and Executed

By the King's Command.

Together with the Particulars of a very ſad Accident that befel a Boy at *Malmoe* in *Schonen*, in the Year 1678. by the means of Witchcraft, atteſted by the Ableſt and moſt Judicious Men of that Town.

Both Tranſlated out of High-Dutch into Engliſh.

By *Anthony Horneck*, D. D.

LONDON,
Printed for *S. Lownds*, M DC LXXXVIII.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE TO THE READER,

Shewing what Credit may be given to the Matter of Fact, related in the ensuing Narrative.

That we are to believe nothing, but what we have seen, is a Rule so false, that we dare not call our selves rational Creatures, and avouch it; yet as irrational as the Maxim is, 'tis become modish with some Men, and those no very mean Wits neither, to make use of it; and though they will hardly own it in its full Latitude, yet when it comes to Particulars, let the Reasons to the contrary be never so pregnant or convincing, they'll hugg it as their sacred Anchor, and laugh at all those credulous Wretches, that without

ſeeing, are ſo eaſily chous'd into an imprudent Confidence. And this pitiful Stratagem we find practiſed in no affair ſo much, as that of Spirits and Witches and Apparitions, which muſt all be Fancies, and Hypochondriack Dreams, and the Effects of diſtempered Brains, becauſe their own are ſo dull as not to be able to pierce into thoſe Myſteries. I do not deny but the Imagination may be, and is ſometime deluded; and melancholy People may fancy they hear Voices, and ſee very ſtrange things, which have no other Foundation but their own Weakneſs, and like Bubbles break into Air, and nothing, by their own vanity.

Yet as no Man doth therefore take unpoliſht Diamonds to be Pebbles, becauſe they do look like them, ſo neither muſt all Paſſages of this nature, we hear or read of, be traduced as Self-conceit, or derided as Old Wives Fables, becauſe ſome ſmell ſtrong of Impoſture and Sophiſtication. We believe men of Reaſon and Experience, and free from Fumes, when a Perſon of ordinary Intellectuals finds no great credit with us; and if we think our ſelves wiſe for ſo doing, why ſhould any Man ſo much forget himſelf, as to be an Infidel in point of ſuch Phænomena's, when even the moſt judicious Men have had experience in ſuch Paſſages? It ſeems to me no leſs than Madneſs to contradict what both wiſe and unwiſe Men do unanimouſly agree in; and how Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, and Chriſtians, both learned and unlearned, ſhould come to conſpire into this Cheat, as yet ſeems to me unaccountable. If ſome

few

few Melancholy Monks, or old Women had ſeen ſuch Ghoſts and Apparitions, we might then ſuſpect, that what they pretend to have ſeen might be nothing, but the effect of a diſordered Imagination; but when the whole World, as it were, and Men of all Religions, Men of all Ages too, have been forced by ſtrong Evidences, to acknowledge the truth of ſuch Occurrences, I know not what ſtrength there can be in the Argument, drawn from the conſent of Nations in things of a ſublimer nature, if here it be of no Efficacy. Men that have attempted to evade the Places of Scripture, which ſpeak of Ghoſts and Witches, we ſee, how they are forced to turn and wind the Texts, and make in a manner Noſes of Wax of them, and rather ſqueeze than gather the Senſe, as if the holy Writers had ſpoke like Sophiſters, and not like Men, who made it their Buſineſs to condeſcend to the capacity of the Common people. Let a Man put no force at all on thoſe Paſſages of holy Writ, and then try what Senſe they are like to yield. It is ſtrange to ſee, how ſome Men have endeavoured to elude the ſtory of the Witch of Endor; *and as far as I can judge, play more Hocus-pocus Tricks in the Explication of that Paſſage, than the Witch herſelf did in raiſing the deceaſed* Samuel. *To thoſe Straits is Falſhood driven, while Truth loves Plain, and undiſguiſed Expreſſions; and Errour will ſeek out Holes and Labyrinths to hide it ſelf, while Truth plays above-board, and ſcorns the ſubterfuges of the Sceptick Interpreter. Men and Brethren, why ſhould it ſeem a thing incredible with you, that God ſhould permit Spirits to appear,*

 and

and the Devil to exert his Power among Men on Earth? Hath God ever engaged his Word to the contrary? Or is it against the nature of Spirits to form themselves new Vehicles and visible Shapes, or to animate grosser Substances to shew themselves to Mortals upon certain Occasions?

I am so much a Prophet, as to foresee what will be the Fate of the ensuing Story, nor can I suppose that upon the reading of it, Mens Verdicts will be much changed from what they were, if they have set up this Resolution, to believe nothing that looks like the shadow of an Apparition, though the things mentioned here, cannot be unknown to any that have been conversant with foreign Affairs of late Years. And though there cannot be a greater Evidence, than the Testimony of a whole Kingdom, yet your nicer Men will think it a Disparagement to them to believe it; nor will it ever extort Assent from any, that build the Reputation of their Wit upon contradicting what hath been received by the vulgar.

The Passages here related wrought so great a Consternation, not only on the Natives, but Strangers too, that the Heer Christian Rumpf, *then Resident for the* States General *at* Stockholm, *thought himself obliged to send away his little Son for* Holland, *lest he should be endangered by those villanous Practices, which seem'd to threaten all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom. And he that doubts of it may be satisfied at Dr.* Harrel'*s in St.* James's Park, *to whom the Letter was written. And a Friend of mine in Town, being then in* Holstein, *remembers*

members very well that the Duke of Holstein *sent an Express to the King of* Sweden, *to know the truth of this famous Witchcraft: To whom the* King *modestly replyed, That his* Judges *and* Commissioners *had caused divers Men, Women, and Children to be burnt and executed upon such pregnant Evidences, as were brought before them; but whether the Actions they confessed, and which were proved against them, were real, or only Effects of strong Imagination, he was not as yet able to determine.*

Add to all this, that the Circumstances mentioned in the ensuing Narrative, as I am informed, are at this day to be seen in the Royal Chancery at Stockholm; *and a Person of my Acquaintance offered to procure me a Copy of them under the hands of publick Registers, if I desired it: Not to mention that in the year 72. Baron* Sparr, *who was sent Embassadour from the Crown of* Sweden *to the Court of* England, *did upon his Word aver the Matter of Fact recorded here, to be undoubtedly true, to several Persons of Note and Eminency, with other Particulars, stranger than those set down in these Papers. And to this Purpose divers Letters were sent from* Sweden *and* Hamburgh *to several Persons here in* London; *insomuch, that should a Man born in, or acquainted with those Parts, hear any Person dispute the Truth of it, he would wonder where People have lived, or what sullen Humour doth possess them, to disbelieve that, which so many thousands in that Kingdom have felt the sad Effect of.*

Sin

Since the first Edition, it hath been my fortune to be acquainted with the Lord Leyonbergh, *Envoy Extraordinary from the King of* Sweden, *living in* York *Buildings, with whom discoursing about these Affairs, I found that the Account he gave, agreed, for the most part, with what is mentioned in the Narrative; and because his Testimony, being a publick Person, may be of some moment in a thing relating to that Kingdom, I have here set it down in his own Words.*

Having read this Narrative, I could do no less, than upon the Request of the Translator and Publisher of this Story, acknowledge, that to my best Remembrance, and according to the best Reports that have been made to me, the Matter of Fact mentioned in it, is true, and that the Witches confessed such things, and were accordingly Executed. Witness my Hand,

London, March 8. 1682.

LEYONBERGH.

I do not take upon me to juſtifie the Truth of what the Witches ſaid, for dealing with the Father of Lies, it's probable, Veracity is not a Vertue, that they greatly ſtudy, yet that the Devil ſpeaks truth ſometimes, is a thing ſo far from being impoſſible, that if we give credit to the Sacred History, we muſt grant that all, he ſaith, is not Falſe, or Erroneous. All, I deſign, at this time, is only to ſuggeſt that it is not altogether irrational to conceive, that he, or his Emiſſaries are capable of ſuch Actions and Pranks, as are related in theſe Papers.

That a Spirit can lift up Men and Women, and groſſer Subſtances, and convey them through the Air, I queſtion no more, than I doubt that the Wind can overthrow Houſes, or drive Stones, and other heavy Bodies upward from their Centre. And were I to make a perſon of a dull underſtanding, apprehend the nature of a Spirit, I would repreſent it to him under the Notion of an Intelligent Wind, *or a ſtrong Wind, informed by a highly Rational Soul; as a Man may be called an intelligent piece of Earth. And this Notion* David *ſeemed to favour, when ſpeaking of theſe Creatures,* Pſalm 104. 4. *he tells us, that God makes his Angels* Wind, *for in the Original it's* רוה *and moſt certainly if they be ſo, they muſt be reaſonable windy Subſtances; nor doth the Expreſſion, which immediately follows, in that Verſe, croſs this Expoſition,* viz. *That he makes his Miniſters a flaming Fire; for it's no new Opinion, that ſome of thoſe inviſible Subſtances are of a Fiery, and others of an Aiery Nature; and as we ſee, God gives Rational Creatures here on Earth, Bodies compoſed of groſſer Matter, why ſhould it ſeem incongruous*

gruous for him to give Rational Creatures above us, Bodies of a ſubtiler and thinner Matter, or ſuch Matter, as thoſe higher Regions do afford? and if Wind breaking forth from the Caverns of Hills and Mountains have ſuch force, as makes us very often ſtand amazed at the effects, what Energy *might we ſuppoſe to be in Wind, were it inform'd by Reaſon, or a Reaſonable Being?*

And though I cannot comprehend the Philoſophy of the Devils committing Venereal Acts, *and having Children, and thoſe Children upon their Copulation bringing forth Toads and Serpents, yet I can very rationally conceive, that having more than ordinary power over Matter, he can either animate dead Bodies, and by the help of them commit thoſe Villanies, which modeſty bids us to conceal; or ſome other way compound, and thicken Atomes into what ſhape he pleaſes, eſpecially if he meet with no hinderance from a higher power. And he that was permitted, as we ſee in the Goſpel, to poſſeſs and actuate living Men, and do with them almoſt what he pleaſed, why may not he commit wickedneſs by ſuch Inſtruments, and caſt Miſts before the Witches eyes, that they may not know who they are? And he that could in* Ægypt *produce Frogs, either real or counterfeit ones, Why may not he be ſuppoſed to be able to produce ſuch Toads and Serpents out of any mis-ſhapen Creatures, and Lumps of Matter, of his own compounding, at leaſt repreſent the ſhapes of them to the deluded Witches, that they ſhall imagine them to be really ſuch things, as they ſeem to be. Nor is this to be admired in the Devil more than Tricks are in Jugglers, who by ſlight of Art*

can

can represent things to the ignorant Spectator, which he ſhall be ready to ſwear to be real, though they are nothing leſs, and I ſuppoſe we may allow the Devil a greater degree of cunning, than an ordinary Juggler.

However, Spirits that know the nature of material things better than the deepeſt Philoſophers, and underſtand better, how things are joined, and compounded, and what the Ingredients of terreſtrial Productions are, and ſee things (groſſer things at leaſt) in their firſt principles, and have power over the Air, and other Elements, and have a thouſand ways of ſhaping things and repreſenting them to the external Senſes of vicious Men, what may not they be ſuppoſed to be able to do, (if they have but God's permiſſion to exert their power) and that God doth ſometimes permit ſuch things, we have reaſon to believe, who read what Signs and Wonders Simon Magus, *and* Apollonius Tyanæus *wrought by the power of darkneſs, and how not a few men ſin to that degree, that God ſuffers them to be led captive by the Devil, and dooms them to that ſlavery we read of in the* Revelation, He that is filthy, let him be filthy ſtill.

Spirits by being Devils do not loſe their nature; and let any man in ſober ſadneſs conſider, what Spirits are ſaid to be able to do in Scripture, and what they have done, and compare thoſe paſſages with what is ſaid in the following Relation, and he will not think thoſe things, the Witches confeſſed, altogether impoſſible.

Yet ſtill, as I ſaid before, I do not pretend to be their Advocate, but ſhall leave it to the Reader to judge of the truth, or untruth of their Confeſſions, as

he

he ſees occaſion, only beg of him not to condemn every thing as a falſhood, before due conſideration of what Spirits are capable of doing.

That in ſo great a multitude as were Accuſed, Condemned, and Executed for Witches, there might be ſome who ſuffered unjuſtly, and owed their death more to the Malice of their Neighbours, than to their Skill in the Black Art, I will readily grant; nor will I deny, that when the News of theſe Tranſactions, and how the Children bewitched, fell into Fits, and ſtrange unuſual Poſtures, ſpread abroad in the Kingdom, ſome fearful and credulous People, if they ſaw their Children any way diſordered, might think they were bewitched, or ready to be carried away by Imps; This happens in all conſternations, and our fears make us ſee that, which unbyaſſed Eyes cannot perceive; and of this, a Gentleman, who was an Ear-witneſs, gave me this inſtance, of a Miniſter's Child of his Acquaintance not far from Stockholm, *who being told, and aſſured by his Wife, that the Child was carried to* Blockula *every night, and convey'd back into his bed again, reſolved to ſit up with the Boy, and ſee whether any Devil durſt be ſo bold as to ſnatch him out of his Arms. The Child went to Bed, and between twelve and one of the Clock at night, began to groan in his ſleep, and ſeemed to ſhiver a little, at the ſight whereof the Mother began to weep and mourn, thinking that the Child was juſt going to be ſnatcht away, but her Husband ſmiling at the Conceit, and pleading with her, that the Child's laying his Arms out of Bed might be the cauſe of theſe ſymptomes, took the Child in his Arms, and there kept him till towards two or three of the Clock, but no Spirit came or meddled with him,*

yet

yet was his Wife ſo poſſeſſed with the conceit, or fear of Tranſportation, that his ſtrongeſt Arguments could ſcarce make her believe the contrary; and the ſame Perſon, (a near Relation of the aforeſaid Envoy) added, how much Malice and Ill-Nature was able to effect, whereof he gave this Example, which himſelf ſaw, and could teſtifie the truth of, viz. *how in the year,* 1676. *at* Stockholme, *a young Woman accuſed her own Mother of being a Witch, and ſwore poſitively, that ſhe carrried her away at night; whereupon both the Judges and Miniſters of the Town exhorted her to Confeſſion and Repentance; But ſhe ſtifly denied the Allegations, pleaded Innocence, and though they burnt another Witch before her Face, and lighted the Fire, ſhe her ſelf was to burn in, before her, yet ſhe ſtill juſtified her ſelf, and continued to do ſo to the laſt, and continuing ſo, was burnt. She had indeed been a very bad Woman, but it ſeems this crime ſhe was free from, for within a fortnight, or three weeks after, her Daughter which had accuſed her, came to the Judges in open Court (weeping and howling) and confeſſed that ſhe had wronged her Mother, and unjuſtly out of a ſpleen, ſhe had againſt her for not gratifying her in a thing, ſhe deſired, had charged her with that Crime which ſhe was as innocent of, as the Child unborn; whereupon the Judges gave order for her execution too.*

There is no publick Calamity, but ſome ill People will ſerve themſelves of the ſad Providence, and make uſe of it for their own ends, as Thieves, when a Houſe or Town is on Fire, will ſteal and filch what they can; yet as there is no Fable, but hath ſome

Foundation

Foundation in Hiſtory, ſo when wicked people make uſe of ſuch Arguments againſt the perſons they hate, it's a ſign there was ſuch a thing, that gave them occaſion to fix the calumny; and had not ſuch things been done before, they could not have any colour for their Villany.

I could add a known paſſage, that happen'd in the year 1659. *at* Croſſen *in* Sileſia, *of an Apothecary's Servant. The chief Magiſtrate of that Town at that time was the Princeſs* Elizabeth Charlotta, *a perſon famous in her generation. In the Spring of the year one* Chriſtopher Monigk, *a Native of* Serbeſt, *a Town belonging to the Princes of* Anhalt, *Servant to an Apothecary, died and was buried with the uſual Ceremonies of the* Lutheran *Church. A few days after his deceaſe, a ſhape exactly like him in face, cloths, ſtature, mien,* &c. *appeared in the* Apothecary'*s Shop, where he would ſet himſelf down, and walk ſometimes, and take the Boxes, Pots, Glaſſes off of the Shelves, and ſet them again in their places, and ſometimes try, and examine the goodneſs of the Medicines, weigh them in a pair of Scales, pound the Druggs with a mighty noiſe in a Mortar, nay, ſerve the people, that came with their Bills to the Shop, take their Money, and lay it up ſafe in the Counter; in a word, do all things that a Journeyman in ſuch caſes uſes to do. He looked very ghaſtly upon thoſe, that had been his Fellow Servants, who were afraid to ſay any thing to him; and his Maſter being ſick at that time of the Gout, he was often very troubleſome to him, would take the Bills that were brought him, out of his hand, ſnatch away the Candle ſometimes, and put it behind the Stove; At*

laſt

last, he took a Cloak that hung in the Shop, put it on and walked abroad, but minding no body in the Streets, went along, entred into some of the Citizens Houses, and thrust himself into Company, especially of such as he had formerly known, yet saluted no body, nor spoke to any one but to a Maid-Servant, whom he met hard by the Church-yard, and desired to go home to his Master's house, and dig in a Ground-Chamber, where she would find an inestimable Treasure; but the Maid amazed at the sight of him, swounded; whereupon he lift her up, but left such a mark upon her Flesh with lifting her, that it was to be seen for some time after. The Maid having recovered her self, went home, but fell desperately sick upon it, and in her Sickness discovered what Monigk *had said to her; and accordingly they digged in the place, she had named, but found nothing but an old decayed Pot, with a* Hæmatites *or Blood-Stone in it. The Princess hereupon caused the young Man's body to be digged up, which they found putrefied with purulent Matter, flowing from it; and the Master being advised to remove the young Man's Goods, Linen, Cloths, and things, he left behind him when he died, out of the House, the Spirit thereupon left the House, and was heard of no more. And this some people now living will take their Oath upon, who very well remember they saw him after his decease, and the thing being so notorious, there was instituted a publick Disputation about it in the Academy of* Leipsig *, *by one* Henry Conrad, *who disputed for his Doctor's Degree in the University. And this*

* By reason of my absence from the Press, there was a mistake in the former Edition, where it is *Wittemberg*.

 puts

puts me in mind of an Apothecary at Reichenbach *in* Silesia, *about fifteen years ago (I had it from a very credible Witness) who after his death appeared to divers of his acquaintance, and cryed out, that in his life time he had poisoned several Men with his Drugs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the Town after consultation, took up his Body, and burnt it; which being done, the Spirit disappeared, and was seen no more. But if the Stories related in the preceding Book are not sufficient to convince Men, I am sure an example from beyond Sea will gain no credit. It's enough that I have shewn Reasons which may induce my Reader to believe that he is not imposed upon by the following Narrative; and that it is not in the nature of those Pamphlets, they cry about the Streets, containing very dreadful News from the Country, of Armies fighting in the Air.*

A RELATION OF THE Strange Witchcraft Discovered in the Village *Mobra* in *Swedeland*,

Taken out of the publick Register of the Lords Commissioners, appointed by his Majesty the King of Sweden, *to examine the whole business, in the Years of our Lord* 1669. *and* 1670.

THE News of this Witchcraft coming to the King's Ear, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Commissioners, some of the Clergy, and some of the Laity, to make a Journey to the Town aforesaid, and to examine the whole business; and accordingly the Examination was ordered to be on the 13*th* of *August*; and the Commissioners met on the 12*th* instant, in the said Village, at the Parson's House, to whom both the Minister and several people of fashion complained with tears in their Eyes, of the miserable condition they were in, and therefore begg'd of them to think of some way, whereby they might be delivered from that Calamity. They gave the Commissioners very strange Instances of the Devils Tyranny among them;

how by the help of Witches, he had drawn ſome Hundreds of Children to him, and made them ſubject to his power; how he hath been ſeen to go in a viſible ſhape through the Country, and appeared daily to the people; how he had wrought upon the poorer ſort, by preſenting them with Meat and Drink, and this way allured them to himſelf, with other circumſtances to be mentioned hereafter. The Inhabitants of the Village added, with very great lamentations, that though their Children had told all, and themſelves ſought God very earneſtly by Prayer, yet they were carried away by him; and therefore begg'd of the Lords Commiſſioners to root out this helliſh Crew, that they might regain their former reſt and quietneſs; and the rather, becauſe the Children which uſed to be carried away in the County or Diſtrict of *Elfdale*, ſince ſome Witches had been burnt there, remained unmoleſted.

That day, *i. e.* the 13*th* of *Auguſt*, being the laſt Humiliation-day Inſtituted by Authority for removing of this Judgment, the Commiſſioners went to Church, where there appeared a conſiderable Aſſembly both of young and old: the Children could read moſt of them, and ſing Pſalms, and ſo could the Women, though not with any great zeal or fervor. There were preached two Sermons that day, in which the miſerable caſe of thoſe people, that ſuffered themſelves to be deluded by the Devil, was laid open; and theſe Sermons were at laſt concluded with very fervent Prayer.

The Publick Worſhip being over, all the people of the Town were called together to the Parſon's Houſe, near Three thouſand of them. Silence being Commanded, the King's Commiſſion was read publickly in the hearing of them all, and they were charged under very great Penalties to conceal nothing of what they knew, and to ſay nothing but the truth; thoſe eſpecially, who were guilty, that the Children might be delivered from the Clutches of the Devil. They all promiſed obedience; the guilty feignedly, but the guiltleſs weeping and crying bitterly.

On

On the 14*th* of *August* the Commissioners met again, consulting how they might withstand this dangerous Flood; after long deliberation, an Order also coming from his Majesty, they did resolve to execute such, as the matter of fact could be proved upon; Examination being made, there were discovered no less than Threescore and ten in the Village aforesaid, Three and twenty of which freely confessing their Crimes, were condemned to dye; the rest, one pretending she was with Child, and the other denying and pleading not guilty, were sent to *Fahluna*, where most of them were afterwards Executed.

Fifteen Children which likewise confessed that they were engaged in this Witchery, died as the rest; Six and thirty of them between nine and sixteen years of age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet; Twenty more, who had no great inclination, yet had been seduced to those hellish Enterprizes, because they were very young, were Condemned to be lash'd with Rods upon their hands, for three Sundays together at the Church-door; and the aforesaid Six and thirty were also doom'd to be lashed this way once a Week for a whole Year together. The number of the Seduced Children was about Three hundred.

On the twenty fifth of *August*, Execution was done upon the notoriously guilty, the day being bright and glorious, and the Sun shining, and some thousands of people being present at the Spectacle. The Order and Method observed in the Examination was thus:.

First, The Commissioners and the Neighbouring Justices went to Prayer; this done, the Witches, who had most of them Children with them, which they either had Seduced, or attempted to Seduce, from four years of age to sixteen, were set before them. Some of the Children complained lamentably of the misery and mischief they were forced sometime to suffer of the Witches.

The Children being asked whether they were sure,

 that

that they were at any time carried away by the Devil; they all declared they were, begging of the Commissioners that they might be freed from that intolerable Slavery.

Hereupon the Witches themselves were asked, whether the Confessions of these Children, were true, and admonished to confess the truth, that they might turn away from the Devil unto the living God. At first, most of them did very stifly, and without shedding the least Tear deny it, though much against their Will and Inclination.

After this, the Children were Examined, every one by themselves, to see whether their Confession did agree or no; and the Commissioners found that all of them, except some very little ones, who could not tell all the Circumstances, did punctually agree in the confession of Particulars.

In the mean while the Commissioners that were of the Clergy examined the Witches, but could not bring them to any Confession, all continuing stedfast in their denyals, till at last some of them burst out into Tears, and their Confession agreed with what the Children had said. And these expressed their Abhorrency of the Fact, and begg'd pardon; adding, that the Devil, whom they call'd *Loeyta*, had stopt the Mouths of some of them, and stopt the Ears of others; and being now gone from them, they could no longer conceal it, for they now perceived his Treachery.

The Confession which the Witches made in *Elfdale*, to the Judges there, agreed with the Confession they made at *Mohra*: and the chief things they confessed consisted in these three Points.

1. Whither they used to go?

2. What kind of Place it was, they went to, called by them *Blockula*, where the Witches and the Devil used to meet.

3. What Evil or Mischief they had either done or designed there.

1. Of

1. *Of their Journey to* Blockula. *The Contents of their Confession.*

WE of the Province of *Elfdale*, do confess that we used to go to a Gravel-pit which lay hard by a cross-way, and there we put on a Vest over our Heads, and then danced round, and after this ran to the Cross-way, and called the Devil thrice, first with a still Voice, the second time somewhat louder, and the third time very loud, with these Words, *Antecessour, come and carry us to* Blockula. Whereupon, immediately he used to appear, but in different Habits; but for the most part we saw him in a gray Coat, and red and blue Stockings: He had a red Beard, a high-crown'd Hat, with Linnen of divers Colours, wrapt about it, and long Garters upon his Stockings.

Then he asked us, whether we would serve him with Soul and Body. If we were content to do so, he set us on a Beast which he had there ready, and carried us over Churches and high Walls; and after all we came to a green Meadow, where *Blockula* lies. We must procure some Scrapings of Altars, and Filings of Church-Clocks; and then he gives us a Horn with a Salve in it, wherewith we do anoint our selves; and a Saddle, with a Hammer and a wooden Nail, thereby to fix the Saddle; whereupon we call upon the Devil and away we go.

Those that were of the Town of *Mohra*, made in a manner the same Declaration: Being asked whether they were sure of a real personal Transportation, and whether they were awake when it was done; they all answered in the Affirmative, and that the Devil sometimes laid something down in the Place that was very like them. But one of them confessed, that he did only take away her Strength, and her Body lay still upon the Ground; yet sometimes he took even her Body with him.

Being asked, how they could go with their Bodies

through Chimneys and broken Panes of Glafs, they faid, that the Devil did firft remove all that might hinder them in their flight, and fo they had room enough to go.

Others were asked, how they were able to carry fo many Children with them; and they anfwered, that when the Children were afleep they came into the Chamber, laid hold of the Children, which ftraightway did awake, and asked them whether they would go to a Feaft with them? to which fome anfwered Yes, others No; yet they were all forced to go. They only gave the Children a Shirt, a Coat, and a Doublet, which was either red or blue, and fo they did fet them upon a Beaft of the Devil's providing, and then they rid away.

The Children confeffed the fame thing; and fome added, that becaufe they had very fine Cloaths put upon them, they were very willing to go.

Some of the Children concealed it from their Parents, but others difcover'd it to them prefently.

The Witches declared moreover, that till of late they never had that power to carry away Children, but only this Year and the laft, and the Devil did at this time force them to it; that heretofore it was fufficient to carry but one of their Children, or a Stranger's Child with them, which yet happened feldom, but now he did plague them and whip them if they did not procure him Children, infomuch that they had no peace nor quiet for him; and whereas formerly one Journey a Week would ferve turn, from their own Town to the place aforefaid, now they were forced to run to other Towns and Places for Children, and that they brought with them, fome fifteen, fome fixteen Children every night.

For their Journey, they faid they made ufe of all forts of Inftruments, of Beafts, of Men, of Spits and Pofts, according as they had opportunity: if they do ride upon Goats, and have many Children with them, that all

may

may have Room, they ſtick a Spit into the back-ſide of the Goat, and then are anointed with the aforeſaid Ointment. What the manner of their Journey is, God alone knows: Thus much was made out, That if the Children did at any time name the Names of thoſe that had carried them away; they were again carried by force either to *Blockula*, or to the Croſs-way, and there miſerably beaten, inſomuch that ſome of them died of it: and this ſome of the Witches confeſſed; and added, That now they were exceedingly troubled and tortured in their minds for it.

The Children thus uſed lookt mighty bleak, wan, and beaten. The marks of the Laſhes, the Judges could not perceive in them, except in one Boy, who had ſome Wounds and Holes in his Back, that were given him with Thorns; but the Witches ſaid, they would quickly vaniſh.

After this uſage the Children are exceeding weak; and if any be carried over-night, they cannot recover themſelves the next day; and they often fall into Fits, the coming of which they know by an extraordinary Paleneſs that ſeizes on the Children; and if a Fit comes upon them, they lean on their Mothers Arms, who ſit up with them ſometimes all night; and when they obſerve the Paleneſs coming, ſhake the Children, but to no purpoſe.

They obſerve further, that their Childrens Breaſts grow cold at ſuch times; and they take ſometimes a burning Candle and ſtick it in their hair, which yet is not burnt by it. They ſwoun upon this Paleneſs, which Swoun laſteth ſometimes half an hour, ſometimes an hour, ſometimes two hours, and when the Children come to themſelves again, they mourn and lament, and groan moſt miſerably, and beg exceedingly to be eaſed: This two old Men declared upon Oath before the Judges, and called all the Inhabitants of the Town to witneſs, as Perſons that had moſt of them experience of this ſtrange Symptome of their Children.

A little

A little Girl of *Elfdale* confessed, That naming the name of *JESUS* as she was carried away, she fell suddenly upon the Ground, and got a great hole in her Side, which the Devil presently healed up again, and away he carried her; and to this day the Girl confessed, she had exceeding great pain in her Side.

Another Boy confessed too, That one day he was carried away by his Mistress, and to perform the Journey, he took his own Fathers Horse out of the Meadow where it was, and upon his return, she let the Horse go in her own ground.

The next Morning the Boys Father sought for his Horse, and not finding it, gave it over for lost; but the Boy told him the whole story, and so his Father fetcht the Horse back again; and this one of the Witches confessed.

2. *Of the place where they used to assemble, called* Blockula, *and what they did there.*

They unanimously confessed, that *Blockula* is situated in a delicate large Meadow, whereof you can see no end. The place or House they met at, had before it a Gate painted with divers Colours; through this Gate they went into a little Meadow distinct from the other, where the Beasts went, that they used to ride on: But the Men whom they made use of in their Journey, stood in the House by the Gate in a slumbering posture, sleeping against the Wall.

In a huge large Room of this House, they said, there stood a very long Table, at which the Witches did sit down: And that hard by this Room was another Chamber, where there were very lovely and delicate Beds.

The first thing they said, they must do at *Blockula*, was, That they must deny all, and devote themselves Body and Soul to the Devil, and promise to serve him faithfully, and confirm all this with an Oath. Hereupon they cut

cut their Fingers, and with their Bloud writ their Name in his Book. They added, that he caused them to be Baptized too by such Priests as he had there, and made them confirm their Baptism with dreadful Oaths and Imprecations.

Hereupon the Devil gave them a Purse, wherein there were filings of Clocks with a Stone tied to it, which they threw into the Water, and then were forced to speak these words; *As these filings of the Clock do never return to the Clock from which they are taken, so may my Soul never return to Heaven.* To which they add Blasphemy and other Oaths and Curses.

The mark of their cut Fingers is not found in all of them: But a Girl who had been slashed over her Finger, declared, that because she would not stretch out her Finger, the Devil in anger had so cruelly wounded it.

After this they sate down to Table; and those that the Devil esteemed most, were placed nearest to him; but the Children must stand at the door, where he himself gives them Meat and Drink.

The Diet they did use to have there, was, they said, Broth with Colworts and Bacon in it, Oatmeal, Bread spread with Butter, Milk, and Cheese. And they added, that sometimes it tasted very well, and sometimes very ill. After Meals they went to Dancing, and in the mean while Swore and Cursed most dreadfully, and afterward went to fighting one with another.

Those of *Elfdale* confessed, That the Devil used to play upon an Harp before them, and afterwards to go with them that he liked best, into a Chamber, where he committed venereous Acts with them; and this indeed all confessed, That he had carnal knowledge of them, and that the Devil had Sons and Daughters by them, which he did Marry together, and they did couple, and brought forth Toads and Serpents.

One day the Devil seemed to be dead, whereupon there were great lamentations at *Blockula*; but he soon awaked

awaked again. If he hath a mind to be merry with them, he lets them all ride upon Spits before him; takes afterwards the Spits and beats them black and blue, and then laughs at them. And he bids them believe, that the day of Judgment will come ſpeedily, and therefore ſets them to work to build a great Houſe of Stone, promiſing, that in that Houſe he will preſerve them from God's Fury, and cauſe them to enjoy the greateſt Delights and Pleaſures: but while they work exceeding hard at it, there falls a great part of the Wall down again, whereby ſome of the Witches are commonly hurt which makes him laugh, but preſently he cures them again.

They ſaid, they had ſeen ſometimes a very great Devil like a Dragon, with Fire round about him, and bound with an Iron Chain; and the Devil, that converſes with them tells them, that if they confeſs any thing, he will let that great Devil looſe upon them, whereby all *Sweedland* ſhall come into great danger.

They added, That the Devil had a Church there, ſuch another as in the Town of *Mohra*. When the Commiſſioners were coming he told the Witches, they ſhould not fear them; for he would certainly kill them all. And they confeſſed, that ſome of them had attempted to murther the Commiſſioners, but had not been able to effect it.

Some of the Children talked much of a white Angel, which uſed to forbid them what the Devil had bid them do, and told them that thoſe doings would not laſt long: what had been done was permitted becauſe of the Wickedneſs of the People, and the carrying away of the Children ſhould be made manifeſt. And they added, that this white Angel would place Himſelf ſometimes at the Door betwixt the Witches and the Children; and when they came to *Blockula*, he pulled the Children back, but the Witches they went in.

3. Of

3. *Of the Michief or Evil which the Witches promised to do to Men and Beasts.*

THey confessed, that they were to promise the Devil, that they would do all that's Ill; and that the Devil taught them to Milk, which was in this wise: They used to stick a Knife in the Wall, and hang a kind of a Label on it, which they drew and stroaked; and as long as this lasted, the Persons that they had power over were miserably plagued, and the Beasts were milked that way, till sometimes they died of it.

A Woman confessed, that the Devil gave her a wooden Knife, wherewith, going into Houses, she had power to kill any thing, she touched with it; yet there were few, that would confess, that they had hurt any Man or Woman.

Being asked whether they had murthered any Children, they confessed, that they had indeed tormented many, but did not know, whether any of them died of those Plagues. And added, That the Devil had shewed them several Places, where he had Power to do Mischief.

The Minister of *Elfdale*, declared, That one Night these Witches, were to his thinking, upon the crown of his Head, and that from thence he had had a long continued Pain of the Head.

One of the Witches confessed too, that the Devil had sent her to torment that Minister: and that she was ordered to use a Nail and strike it into his Head, but it would not enter very deep; and hence came that Head-ach.

The aforesaid Minister said also, That one Night he felt a Pain, as if he were torn with an Instrument, that they cleanse Flax with, or a Flax-comb; and when he waked, he heard somebody scratching and scraping, at the Window, but could see no-body. And one of the Witches confessed, that she was the Person that did it, being sent by the Devil.

The

The Minifter of *Mohra* declared alfo, that one Night one of thefe Witches came into his Houfe, and did fo violently take him by the Throat, that he thought, he fhould have been choaked; and waking, he faw the Perfon that did it, but could not know her; and that for fome Weeks he was not able to fpeak, or perform Divine Service.

An old Woman of *Elfdale* confeffed, that the Devil had holpen her to make a Nail, which fhe ftruck into a Boy's knee, of which Stroke the Boy remained lame a long time. And fhe added, that before fhe burnt, or was executed by the hand of Juftice, the Boy would recover.

They confeffed alfo, that the Devil gives them a Beaft about the bignefs and fhape of a young Cat, which they call a *Carrier*; and that he gives them a Bird too as big as a Raven, but white. And thefe two Creatures they can fend any where; and where-ever they come, they take away all forts of Victuals they can get, Butter, Cheefe, Milk, Bacon, and all forts of Seeds whatever they find, and carry it to the Witch. What the Bird brings they may keep for themfelves; but what the Carrier brings, they muft referve for the Devil, and that's brought to *Blockula*, where he doth give them of it fo much as he thinks fit.

They added likewife, that thefe *Carriers* fill themfelves fo full fometimes, that they are forced to fpue by the way, which fpueing is found in feveral Gardens where Colworts grow, and not far from the Houfes of thofe Witches. It is of a yellow colour like Gold, and is called *Butter of Witches*.

The Lords Commiffioners were indeed very earneft, and took great Pains to perfwade them to fhew fome of their Tricks, but to no purpofe; for they did all unanimoufly confefs, that fince they had confeffed all, they found that all their Witchcraft was gone, and that the Devil at this time appeared to them very terrible, with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with Horns on his Head,

Head, and a long Tail behind, and shewed to them a Pit burning, with a Hand put out; but the Devil did thrust the Person down again with an Iron-fork; and suggested to the Witches, that if they continued in their Confession, he would deal with them in the same manner.

The abovesaid Relation is taken out of the Publick Register, where all this is related with more Circumstances. And at this time through all the Countrey there are Prayers weekly in all Churches, to the end that Almighty God would pull down the Devil's Power, and deliver those poor Creatures, which have hitherto groaned under it.

An Account of what happened to a Boy, at Malmoe *in* Schonen, *in the Year* 1678. *supposed to be done by Witchcraft, and attested by the ablest, and most judicious Men of that Town.*

Having in the Preface to the foregoing Narrative taken notice of the *Swedish Envoy Extraordinary*, it may not be unsuitable to the Subject, these Papers treat of, to give the World an Account of a very strange Passage, which the said Envoy hath taken very great pains to satisfie himself in; and of which he hath the publick Testimony of the Town, where it was done, by him. No longer ago than in the Year 1678. an Alderman or Senator's Son of *Malmoe* in *Schonen*, a City belonging to the King of *Sweden*, the Boy being then about Thirteen Years of Age, his Name *Abraham Mechelburg*, going to School one Morning, as the Custom is in that place, about Six of the Clock, stay'd there till Eight, and then went home for his Breakfast, which when he had eaten, he was going back to School again, when just before the Door, close by the lowermost Step, there lay a little Bundle of Linnen Rags, which the Lad out of Curiosity took up and open'd, but found nothing

thing in it, but partly Pins, ſome crooked, ſome laid acroſs, ſome without Points; partly broken Horſe-nails, and Nails without Heads; partly Horſe-hair, and ſuch Traſh, which, when it anſwered not his Expectation, he rent aſunder, and threw away.

Some few days after, the Boy fell ill, and continued ſo for ſome time, no Phyſician being able to gueſs what ailed him. At laſt he began to void little Stones, at the Orifice of the *Penis*, which by degrees came forth bigger and bigger, ſome were perfect Pebbles of all ſorts of Colours, and in proceſs of time, there came forth great uneven Stones like pieces of Rocks, as if they were broken off of a greater Stone, whereof the Envoy hath two by him, One given him by the Father of the Boy, and the other by the King's Chirurgeon, both which I have thought fit to give the Reader the dimenſions of.

Before the Stones came forth, there was a ſtrange motion in his Belly, as if ſomething were alive in it, the Stones ſeemed to crack within, and ſomething they heard, as if a great Stone were violently broken, and at this time he felt the greateſt pain When the Stones were ready to come forth, the *Penis* was drawn in ſo deep, that the Standers by could not perceive any thing of it; and after that, it dropt thoſe prodigious Stones, which ſeem rather to be fetch'd from Quarries, than produced by any *Saline* or *Nitrous* Matter in the Body. The Stone I have given the Figure of, is of a reddiſh colour, with ſome grains of white in it, heavy, and ſuch as lie in common Roads and Highways. When the Stones came forth, the Boy felt no pain, the pain being moſt upon him, when the Stones within ſeem'd to crack, and a little before; and the Fit was then ſo violent, that four or five Men were forced to hold him. The Boy in the mean while ſlept well at Night, eat, and drank as heartily as ever, diſcompoſed at no time, but when the Fit of voiding theſe Stones was coming upon him. This laſted two years: The Parents had the Boy pray'd for at Church, and inſtantly beſought

God

God at home, whenever any of thoſe Fits came upon him, to turn the ſtream and to ſtop the Devils Power. The Boy is now as well as ever, rideth abroad, and doth all things as he uſed to do before this accident befel him. The *Envoy* ſpoke both with the Father and the Boy, and tells me, they are no indigent People, but well to paſs, and Perſons of very good Reputation in the Town of *Malmoe*. While this Misfortune laſted, the King of *Sweden* being then but a little way off, ſent ſome of his Chirurgeons to the Place, to know the truth thereof, who were by, when the Lad voided very ſtrange Stones at the *Orifice* of the *Penis*, and gave the King an account of it: One of them to be throughly ſatisfied, held his hand under the *Penis* after it was drawn in, and there dropt a very odd Stone, broad and angular into his hand. The *Envoy* being upon the place laſt Year, enquired of all People, whom he thought might not be very credulous, who unanimouſly bore witneſs of the thing; and upon his requeſt gave him the following Account, which I have tranſlated out of the Original.

A. H.

B*E it known, that during the Years,* 1678. *and* 1679. *a very wonderful thing happened in this City of* Malmoe, *to one of the Aldermen of the Town, his name* John Mechelburg, *and his Wife's* Abla Kruthmeyer; *for God having bleſſed them with three Sons, one of them* Abraham *by name, a Boy at this time aged about ſixteen years, hath been very ſtrangely afflicted with a preternatural voiding of Stones, inſomuch that during the ſpace of thoſe two years, he hath through the* Virga *of the* Penis *voided ſeveral hundreds of Stones great and ſmall, which being weighed together, weighed no leſs than one and Twenty Pound,* Aver du poiſe, *ſome weighing* 6, *ſome* 7, *ſome* 8, *ſome* 9. *Ounces, full of Angles, and much like pieces of a Rock that's broken by Force, or Inſtruments fit for that Pur-*

pose. These broken Stones sometimes came forth at the Boy's mouth, sometimes he voided them by Siege, and the Parents of the Child have confidently assured us, that before this Misfortune, the Boy had been sick several Weeks together, and kept his Bed; during which Sickness something was seen moving in his Body, as if it had been some live thing. After this Sickness there appeared the Stones aforesaid; The first that came forth exceeded not the bigness of half a Pea, but in a short time after they increased to a greater Bulk; when they were ready to come away, the Boy complained much of the Spine of his Back, where, as he said, he found incredible Pain. While this lasted, he neither made Water, nor went to Stool sometimes in two Months, sometimes not in a Quarter of a Year; sometimes the Stones, when they were past through the Virga, *appeared bloudy, and upon one of them there appeared a kind of* Talch. *Notwithstanding all this misery, the Boy continued to eat his Meat very heartily, nor was he troubled with this Pain at all in the night, but slept quietly as he used to do. About the latter end of this unexampled Passion and Misery, a matter of* 64. *Stones, for the most part small, came forth very fast, one upon the neck of another, and since the* 20th. *of* September, 1679. *this Misfortune hath totally left him, and he is as well as ever; nor is there, after all those Torments, any Defect to be found, or perceived either in his Body, or the aforesaid Member of the Boy, but he continues safe and sound unto this day.*

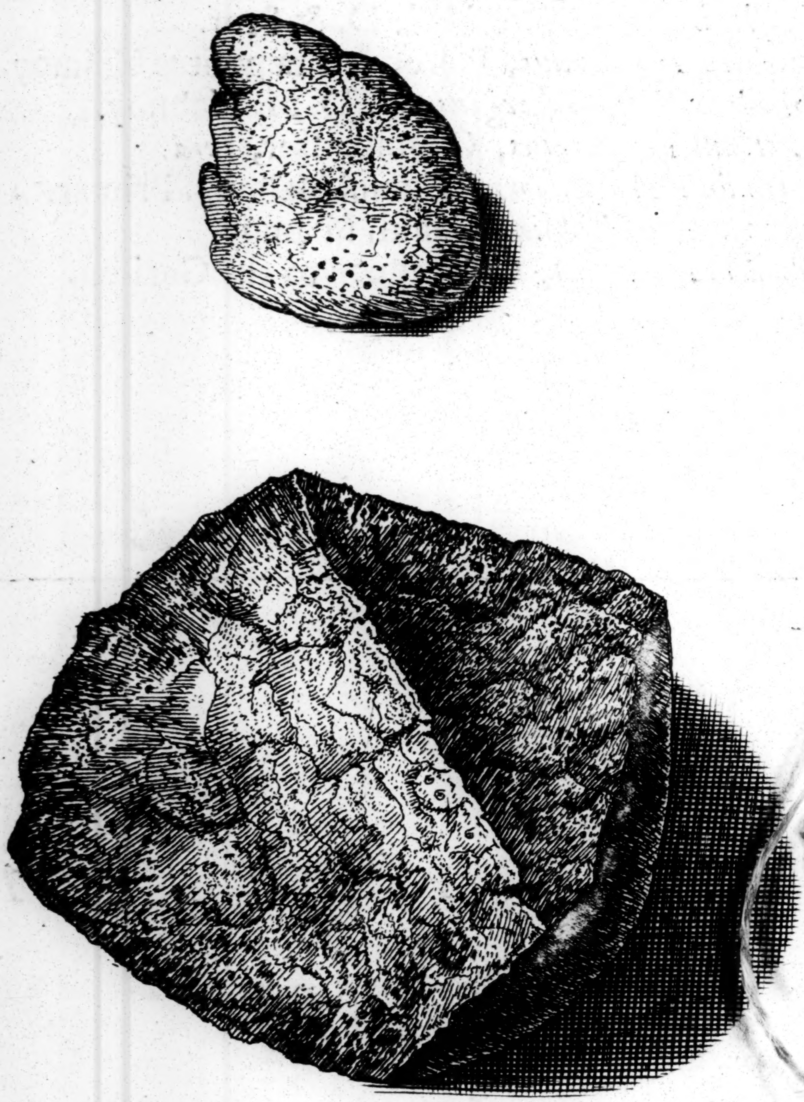
And whereas, in all probability, abundance of Men, because they have not been Eye-witnesses, will deride these Passages, as fabulous, we, whose Names are under-written, upon the Request and Desire of the Lord John Leyonbergh, *Envoy Extraordinary of* Sweden, *have once more spoken, and conferred with the Parents of the Boy, who have shewed us the abovesaid Stones, and given us one of the biggest, as a Present, and do hereby testifie, that the Passages related in the Premisses, are undoubtedly true, which Testimony we have also signed with our own hands, that in case the aforesaid Envoy coming into foreign Parts, shall have occasion*

to

to ſpeak of theſe things, Men may give Credit to his Relation. Given at *Malmoe*, this 20*th*, of *September*, 1680.

Chriſtophorus Roſtius, Med. D. & Prof.
Nicolaus Hambraus, Paſtor & Præpoſitus Malmoy.
Wilhelmus Laurembergius, V. D. M. Malmoy.
Martinus Torſtorrius, Comminiſter, *ibid.*
Sigiſmund Aſchenborn, Conſul Malmoy. Primar.
John Caſpar Heublin. Conſil. Malmoy.
Ephraim Koldewey, Chirurgeon to the Gariſon.

The dimensions of the two Stones mentioned in these papers.



Advertiſement.

WHen the Boy's Father gave the *Envoy* the bigger Stone, he added this Teſtimonial or Certificate under his own hand:

IN the Year of our Lord, 1678. *Novemb.* 30. *This Stone came away from my Son* Abraham Mechelburg, *through the* Virga *of the* Penis, *weighing three Ounces, and upward.*

Malmoe,
April 26.
1680.

John Mechelburg.

The Leſſer Stone was given to the *Envoy*, by one of the King of *Sweden*'s Chirurgeons, that held his hand to the Orifice of the *Penis*, and felt and ſaw it drop into his hand.

FINIS.

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[*Saduciſmus Triumphatus :* Or, Full and plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions.]

Jan. 14th 168$\frac{6}{7}$.

Rob. Midgley.

122 Contgenage

351 overthrow of Jew

353 Genl. nearly of his death

357 Dr thing of [illegible]

359 Dev'l [illegible] to [illegible]

366 Do [illegible]

370 Do heath [illegible]

374 [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

375 [illegible]

377 [illegible] [illegible]

378 [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

380 [illegible] [illegible]

381 [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

400 [illegible]

401 [illegible] Town Clerk

401 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Sacheverell [illegible]

407 head man to give up